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CANADA'S WILDLIFE NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 29, 1992 VOL 104 NO 34

**Margot Perot allows Good Housekeeping a peek; Culinary Olympics leave Canada's chefs on a high; insidery look at Wintergate's 20th anniversary; Fort Saskatchewan feeds its park staff on the lawn; Hollywood tones down a movie beating; a measure of Mount Logan; Ottawa's noise boom misses a deadline.**

Voters are taking a second look at the Reform Party of Canada; in an interview with Maclean's, Preston Manning urges his followers to be modest in their goals.

Born Yeltsin says that some U.S. POWs may have been taken to the former Soviet Union from Vietnam; a federal grand jury indicts former defense secretary Caspar Weinberger on five drug-control counts.

A strike shuts 20 pulp-and-paper mills in British Columbia; one year later, Maclean's revisits four people coping with the recession.

*Read more at Canada's daily newspaper*

The Stratford Festival is marked by excitement on—and off—the stage, as ambitious new musicals has its world premiere in Toronto.

The story of a woman's defiance of conventional morals redeems this summer's crop of movies set in Ireland.

The ghosts of the Cold War still wander the earth in Anthony Ryde's latest spy thriller.

## WHO SPEAKS FOR CANADA?

Even officials who negotiated the latest constitutional plan now say it lacks a clear national vision. Some key participants, convinced that they did not properly weigh the costs or the ramifications of concessions to various interest groups, actually want the package to fall apart. Instead, Ottawa is quietly drafting a new set of less dramatic proposals to place before Parliament. — 12

## RUSSIA'S RIPPER

The Russian city of Rostov-on-Don is proud of its industrial muscle. But recently, it has acquired a less enviable reputation: as the home of former schoolteacher Andrei Chikatilo, possibly the world's most prolific serial killer. Chikatilo has confessed to murdering and mutilating 55 victims in a 12-year spree. — M



## JOURNEY TO THE POLE

In mid-March, three men left the northernmost Indians in Canada's Arctic archipelago. Their goal: to ski to the North Pole and back without being resupplied. One man got, but last week a Canadian, Richard Weber, and an Russian companion were making the perilous return journey. — 43



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# OPENING NOTES

Cooking up gold, Watergate memories and the measure of a mountain

## BEHIND EVERY GREAT MAN . . .

Someone has measured their months ago that he may not be president, Dallas millionaire Ross Perot has shaped his good boy image through three appearances on radio and TV talk shows. But his wife, Maureen, who met her dramatic match in 1976 on a blind date, has carefully shrouded the limelight. Recently, the 50-year-old matriarch of the Texas charity hall donated a Washington portrait of Sandra McArthur, a peak inside her life and her Texas career. The result is the first full-length profile of the dramatic mother of five, which will appear in the September issue of the venerable, all-American monthly *Good Housekeeping*. "She's a *Canoe* person or a *Yankee* type," McArthur told *Good Housekeeping*. "She's simply down-to-earth, conventional and yet her own woman." In the article, Maureen reveals a rare glimpse of her views as an advocate of abortion rights and other women's issues. "Where all," and McArthur, "she's a devoted wife—and family is her number 1 priority."



Maureen Perot and husband Ross. "Where's the love?"

## A movable Olympics

As Canada's athletes spent one of the last three days of training for next month's Olympic Games in Barcelona, a second group of Canadians is duking it out in a world championship, as well. But instead of lifting weights and throwing javelins, those contestants are picking salmon—in preparation for the 1997 Calgary Olympics to be held in Frankfurt in October. The seven chefs were led by Fred Zimmerman, 52, executive chef at the Weston Hotel in Calgary, in preparing his

gold-medal hopes on an impressive all-Canadian menu anchored salmon collops with golden crumb, garnished with cherry wood and a side order of potato leek soup, beyond with savory cabbage and béchamel. For dessert, the item is a wild oat crispie, garnished with chocolate and raspberry butter. Fred Zimmerman, a veteran culinary Olympian who has won five gold medals over the past 10 years. "As in the sport of Olympics, the competition is very demanding. But at the Weston Hotel, it's just a delicious treat."



## LEGACY OF A SCANDAL

On June 17, 1972, the man who took the Democratic National Committee office in Washington as part of a conspiracy that went all the way up to the leader of the Republican administration to Richard Nixon, who resigned in 1974. With the help of an anonymous source identified only as "Deep Throat," Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein uncovered a story of corruption that still haunts American politics. *Watergate*. On its 20th anniversary last week, participants and observers recalled the biggest scandal in U.S. history.

"And suddenly it was over. The most intense moment of our lives. The President had resigned."

—Benjamin C. Bradlee, *now-president* of *The Washington Post*

"I regret that it failed. I still totally believe in Richard Nixon. Yes, he was a liar. Gordon Liddy, leader of the Watergate break-in team, on radio today says:

"I was reluctant to be part of the whole thing. I did not want myself to be involved in the downfall of a president of the United States."

—Haldane Japhet, *Executive Director*

"I hope politicians have learned you can't deal around with stupid things like a break-in that you can't cover up."

—Former president Gerald Ford, who presided Nixon on official business in 1974

## Lunch on the lawn

Some congressional employees in Fort Saskatchewan, Alta., will soon be commuting to work in trucks—initially. As part of a one-year pilot program approved last week by officials of the city, located near Edmonton, 300 there will employ maintenance crews on about 100 acres of public land on an abandoned provincial oil site. The move may be good news for residents, but bad news for business if the experiment works, the city will need fewer truck employees to cut the truck, which previously required a mechanical moving in place in 10 days a year. "A lot of places are looking at reducing dependency on moving trucks," said public relations Donald Simmons, who added that he expects the sheep, guided by a shepherd and led by his border collies, to much more efficiently as low-maintenance. Although the cost savings must be calculated, the program will have at least one costly thing: benefits for organic livestock.

## Pulling punches

A scene in the new Hollywood thriller *Unleashed* depicts a Los Angeles police officer brutally slaying a defenceless black man over and over again—looking an obvious parallel to last year's videotaped beating of Rodney King. In the wake of the riots in Los Angeles, and after showing the film to journalists at a recent media screening in Chicago, director Jonathan Kaplan and producer Charles Gordon decided to tone down the scene's violence before releasing the movie this week. (June 28, "We cut a few blows out," said Gordon. "We thought it was in the movie, Roy Latta plays a psychotic policeman without any racial hatred (Machete) scene." Her husband (Mark Russell) first believes that the officer is a monster when he joins him on patrol and witnesses the beating. "Watching

the scene with an audience, after so many hours you could feel things pulsing in their seats," said Gordon. But one of the biggest laughs in *Unleashed* came from neither violence to the King beating. When Russell's character complains about the police station



Russell (left), Shows, Latta's barely cut

breaking into a house, the police captain responds "You're not having an anything to go on. You don't even have a video. These days, everybody put a God damn video"



## HOW HIGH IS UP?

Some climbers first reached its peak in 1925, Mount Logan in southwestern Yukon has been known as Canada's highest mountain. But because of suspect surveying methods, measurements of the peak's height have varied by 225 feet, from 29,258 to 29,484 feet above sea level. To settle the question, the Royal Canadian Geographical Society at Canada helped sponsor a 25-member expedition that scaled Mount Logan this spring and used precise elevation using satellite-linked global positioning equipment. The team led by Michael Schmidt, 38, of Sidney, B.C., lowered high winds and freezing conditions during its assault on the peak and succeeded in putting 13 climbers on the summit. Now, federal scientists in Ottawa are analyzing data on the height of the mountain, and the results will be made public at a Canada Day ceremony in Fairbanks, Alaska. But even the new height, which experts predict will be lower than originally thought, could soon be out of date. According to Schmidt, an earthquake specialist for the Geological Survey of Canada, the mountain is gradually being pushed upward by movement of the Earth's crust. Canada's highest mountain may not be as high as thought, but it's getting there.

## Ottawa's big boom

In its early years, Canada kept time by the sound of a cannon fired precisely at noon on Parliament Hill. From 1869, for almost 30 years, the cannon just off in Ottawa faded that "true time daily" by telegraph to branches across the nation. Even after, the noon hour provided rest, in April 1991, National Capital Commission budget cuts ended the bang that kept many Ottawa businesses accurate. House Speaker John Sweeney persuaded the rest to measure time by May on a promise that the Commission would take over the operation and costs (\$15,000 a year). Last week, Ottavians began hearing the boom at different times—signals that the years of Commission cutbacks were taking effect. Apart from the \$150,000 extra per why volunteer launch now? To be part of history, "explained outdoor columnist Rachel Dumas. "And, also, just for the bang of it."

## PASSAGES

**DIED:** Songwriter, singer and dancer Peter Allen, 48, who was discovered by Judy Garland and who married her daughter, Lisa Minnelli, of an AIDS-related illness, as his San Diego, Calif., beachside home. The Australian-born entertainer was best known for his country-cabaret performances, featuring outlandish outfits, his trademark song *I Go to the Sun* and his 1981 *Academy Award* nomination for *Arthur's Theme*. He also wrote popular songs for Olivia Newton-John and Melissa Manchester. Allen married Minnelli in 1967 and they divorced in 1974, without having any children.



**REIGNED:** As president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Jean-Claude Paré, 56, following his election as vice-president of the Canadian Labour Congress. Paré was not allowed to hold a full-time union position.

**DIED:** Longtime Conservative party campaign strategist Newby McLean, 49, of heart failure, at Toronto. McLean was a communications consultant on Joe Clark's election campaign teams in 1979 and 1980, and on Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's in 1988.

**APPOINTED:** Former external affairs minister Flora MacDonald, 65, as chairman—a part-time job—of the Ottawa-based International Development Research Centre, whose mandate is to help

developing countries. The long-time Conservative is also chairman of the Commonwealth Human Rights Institute.

**NAMED:** British-born musician Trevor Plummer, 45, artistic director and principal conductor of the National Arts Centre Orchestra in Ottawa, as a member of the Order of the British Empire, by Queen Elizabeth II.

**RECOVERING:** Founder of the Ottawa crime-fighting group the Guardians Angels, Curtis Silvers, 28, after he was shot twice in a taxi on his way to his radio talk show in New York City. He founded the group, whose members wear distinctive red berets, in 1979. A Toronto branch opened earlier this year.



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AN AMERICAN VIEW



## The challenger: why he is here to stay

BY FRED BRUNING

**P**resident Perot? Facted with a Republican incumbent who stands for precisely *not* and a Democratic challenger with the credibility of a card shark, the American people now seem ready to elect *None of the Above* to the most powerful political job in the world. Perot, *wargame* in the polls? Hey, *why not?*

Who could blame the electorate for jumping at the chance to play some serious mischief this year? Taxes, recession, riots—pheww! George Bush is a whiny and ineffectual Bill Clinton is slow-witted and boring H Ross Perot? This funny-looking little dude is something else.

First of all, the guy is worth billions. Americans love that. That is a country fixer as the advanced stages of overpopulation loom: "Hey, you never knew," is the advertising slogan for the New York State Lottery game and captures perfectly the mind-set of our people. Keep telling yourself good fortune is going to fall out of the sky, keep believing the quick fix is inevitable and, boy, you are apt to buy into nonsense.

That was the lesson of Ronald Reagan—franchise follows form. He looked great, didn't he, the now-famous cowboy with the telegram in one and eight pounds of pompadour, and that affable, no-strings way of talking that made everything seem lunko-dunk. Reagan told us to stick with him, and we did, and not many bothered to ask where he was heading. Just follow along, kiddies. That nice man up front says everything is going to be just fine. Twelve years later, we're still wandering around in the woods, and the kindly old post-

Pivot has the same sort of local-good quality. Here you have this rich guy who doesn't really look rich in the way that George Bush does, and who doesn't struggle for words in that personified patrician way of the President. Nothing seems to trouble Bush more than the usual

*Paul Browne is a writer with Newsday in New York.*

*Ross Perot is all plain talk. He is a self-actualized soul who says what is on his mind and comes across as a genuine item.*

declarative sentence, but Ross Perot is all plain talk. No hiding out in fragments or subordinate clauses. Just say what's on your mind and forget the prep-school jive, or that strained voice routine of Bill Clinton. The American people suffer neither ornaments nor accents. Perot may look like E. T.'s slyer brother, but he makes contact. He gets through.

In all instances, he comes across as a genuine, self-actualized soul who doesn't feel compelled to hang about eating fried pork rinds and would rather perish than offer some gibberish about doing just but not sampling the fumes. First he is convinced that 1) he means what he says; 2) what worked for him in business will work in government; 3) that there hasn't been a problem arrested he can't solve; and 4) except for those billions, he is pretty much like everyone else.

Now, of course, mouthpieces in both parties say Perot's popularity is a momentary aberration and that as the November election draws nigh Americans will snap to their senses and respoond Bush or settle for Clinton and that people will recall their spring fling with Perot and laugh and say something along the lines of "Yeah, but that's what makes America great." The spin doctors are busy, all right, but you

better believe those boys are updating their résumés. By graduate, they could be on unemployment.

There is an article, *New Republic* magazine, that is proud to be otherwise: ordinary editorial that is proud to be out. "an inherently ridiculous action." He is stunned and captivated, the publication allowed, and he is not a naive sense that America has entered a worse period of decline and that the White House and Congress were chaos, what is due. The editors questioned his ability to reconcile and accommodate—to engage in the fundamental give-and-take of a democratic system—but voters don't seem much interested in major details of this post. Right now, Ross Perot is on a roll and, where, America is enjoying the ride.

No doubt *Post* has made the election more interesting. Without him, it would have been far more inane: one of the George and Bill show — day after endless day of robotic sound bites and promotional stunts en route to fires and lectures, and platitudes about the problems of the American people and the rights of the American dream and the challenges of the 21st century. Thus there would have been a series of Bush-Clinton debates, no participant ever defuses them for the other, and if some separate avenue would be the American people, young, working-class, voting themselves out of the party they despise, a chaotic, confused contest between two of the dullest public figures of the 20th century?

Forst changes all that. He is inflicting on the major portion a large headache, and giving even the most reflectant citizens reason to pay attention. But is he the answer to our prayers?

Fellow planners, get it? Just how Perot is not our savior, and to say he is a part this year's easy answer, Ronald Reagan without Greaser Perverts. Perot does not have ideas, only whims. Crime, guns, health care, inner cities, education, military spending—these is his talk and you realize this man is just like everyone else, that his solutions are fantasy and his understanding of problems foolish, at best. You be informed about him, but don't expect anything having unworldly leaders. Go control! Take Greasers away from computers! Go back to school! Get your hands off my car! Go back to work! We have to Lynch our own folks, but what's the choice? Medical services! Oh, we're serious trouble here. Check us later for an ancient Texas! Hey, there's a touch one, all right.

But Bush is not the point. We are the point—the voters, the people. We elected Ronald Reagan because he said things we yearned to hear, and because he made a complex world seem so very simple. We handed the presidency to George Bush by acclamation, figuring maybe he could keep the 1990s going through the 1990s. We chose partly in the Democratic primaries, spring for Bill Clinton, who looked prettier than the rest but had baggage-laden ties. Now, we are duty for a cocksure Texas billionaire who says he's going to set things straight, praise Sonatas or later we are going to pay for our magnificence. In the meantime, don't we get lost?

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Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the polymer on the gelation time of the epoxy resin.

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Manning speaking in Uxbridge earlier this month as a anti-Reform campaign by the Tories begins to take its toll

## CANADA

# UNDER SIEGE

In Calgary these days, it feels as though the last vestige of election campaign is already under way. Taped radio messages feature unidentified Canadians expressing fears that the policies advocated by Preston Manning, leader of the Reform Party of Canada, would gut medicine, destroy higher education and put more women on the welfare rolls. Motorists, meanwhile, confront stark black-and-white billboards that pose the question, "What about Canada, Mr. Manning?" The marionette campaign, which is headed by the federal Conservative party and local riding associations, ends this week. But it is one that Tory strategists say may well be repeated in other centres across the country as a federal election—which is widely expected to be held within the next year—draws nearer. "We feel that the Reform party has been getting a free ride, and that some of that was at our expense," says John Tary, co-chairman of the Conservative election campaign. "We have to begin the process of exposing these

## ASSAILED BY ITS CRITICS, PRESTON MANNING'S REFORM PARTY IS A TOUGH SELL IN MANY PARTS OF CANADA

Reform party threatens to usurp Tory identity—Manning introduced his attack, suggesting at one point that Reform's policies could promote racial tensions similar to those that contributed to the Las Vegas riots in April. According to some Reform opponents, the Tory campaign is just a smokescreen to lure voters away from the Reform party's

people for what we believe they really are."

In fact, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his associates have been launching some of the Calgary-based party at every possible opportunity for the past 18 months, calling Reform a potential threat to national unity and claiming that Manning's promise to cut government spending by as much as 15 per cent would imperil the lives of veterans, pensioners and military veterans. In February, those themes were tested in a series of radio ads aired in the Ontario riding of Simcoe North, a seat held by Solicitor General Douglas Lewis. And in his own forays in central Ontario and the B.C. Interior—both areas where support for the

and not, are beginning to take their toll. "All these parties are trying to sell voters that we are bad, stupid people," says Ronald Goss, a Kitchener, Ont., publisher and Reform's chief organizer in Ontario. "As a result, it's harder to get our message out because we are being prejudged."

Politicians also report a dampening of enthusiasm for Reform. A Maclean's/Dominion poll conducted last year showed that Canadians, deeply discontented with the traditional parties, were more likely to vote in second elections. Of the 1,699 surveyed, 46 per cent stated that it was "very likely" or "somewhat likely" that they would cast their ballot for a Reform candidate in the next election. But further polling by Toronto-based Decima Research, which also serves as the federal Conservatives' pollster, suggests that voters are now taking a critical second look at Manning's party. "A year ago, we saw 46 per cent and that they were a savvy vote for Reform," says Decima chairman Allan Gregg. "Now, that's up to about a quarter of the respondents." Gregg adds that the disenchantment with Reform is not related to any specific policies but to "a general feeling that they are a little extreme"—a perception that the current Calgary campaign is clearly designed to exploit.

As support for Reform wanes, the chair beneficiaries are the long-suffering Mulroney Tories. Last month, the Winnipeg-based Angus Reid Group released a poll showing that the Reform party was supported nationally by 12 per cent of devoted voters, compared with 30 per cent for the Conservatives, 22 per cent for the NDP and 34 per cent for the Liberals. Those standings represented a three-point drop in support for Reform since January when the party made its strongest showing ever. During that same period, the Tories experienced a four-point gain in support—the first increase in the party's fortunes since March, 1989. While the degree of movement is marginal, independent pollster Angus Reid estimates that it is a harbinger of things to come. "I think that Reform has peaked," says Reid, "and I think that we'll see even more change in the months ahead."

Reid, who has monitored the progress of the Reform party since its founding convention in Winnipeg in October, 1987, acknowledges that he was bullish about Reform's prospects in the past, before its decision last summer to contest federal ridings outside of Western Canada. Says Reid: "The roots of Reform are in places like Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia where there is a very profound sense of disaffection." According to Reid, Reform is in danger of being marginalised as a more extreme version of the federal Tories. "I'm not sure how broad the constituency is for some of the issues he [Manning] wants to push forward," he says.

Reid adds that the federal Tories have clearly co-opted some of Reform's key proposals, including a nod towards Senate reform and a more restrictive immigration policy announced last week, and may be preparing to do so again with a national unity referendum. Declaring Reform "A successful referendum that signifies significant changes to the Senate will be the first major triumph of the Reform will."

In fact, there are signs that Manning is slowly looking beyond any possible national unity referendum. Launching a six-day tour of central Ontario communities earlier this month, Manning told reporters that he intended to speak primarily about economic issues rather than the Constitution. He also tested several new hard-core political policies, drawing attention to such time he proposed a leading national referendum on capital punishment was declared that recently arrived immigrants who are convicted of crimes should be quickly deported to their home countries. And while the latter proposal did not appear in the memorandum to the Immigration Act tabled in Ottawa last week, other measures—such



## CANADA WATCH

Political and political officials expected by late afternoon as they attempt to pull together a national unity package by Tuesday's self-imposed deadline. But while several major issues seemed ready to make compromise, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells remained steadfastly in support of a 1991 plebiscite, effective and equal Senate and support in a constitutional role for Quebec in other developments.

• **Liberal Leader Jean Chretien and ex-Leader Audrey McLaughlin** agreed Friday Minister Jean Mulroney to limit the value of their political closed doors by calling a "first minister's meeting."

• **The Quebec Liberal government** introduced its new bill on the future of the province of Quebec in the House of Commons last week.

### QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"We realize that we are at the centre of a common market and that we cannot live as though we were on another planet."

—Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, on entry Quebec's economic interests would be harmed as a united country.

## National Notes

### IMMIGRATION OVERHAUL

The federal government tabled a set of sweeping reforms to Canada's Immigration Act. The changes give cabinet greater authority to manage immigration levels and reduce the number of refugee claimants by up to 40 per cent. Among the proposed changes: fewer restrictions on certain classes of immigrants, including wealthy investors and legitimate refugees, and new powers to return refugee claimants from countries designated "safe" by the federal cabinet.

### YES TO NO

The House of Commons passed a new rape law that defines what constitutes consent when a woman has sex. Among other things, the new law states that a woman must give voluntary agreement, through words or conduct, to sex; that an unconscious person cannot give consent; and that a man must prove that he took reasonable steps to ascertain consent before using the defence that he honestly—although mistakenly—believed he had agreement.

### CHANGING OF THE GUARD

Paul Teller, who has served as clerk of the Privy Council since 1983 and secretary to cabinet since 1991, is stepping down as Canada's most senior civil servant to become president of Canadian National October 1992. He is a 55-year veteran of the civil service who headed the Canadian Viceroy Office under Pierre Trudeau, will be succeeded by his 54-year-old deputy, Glen Skellern, a career veteran of External Affairs.

### VOTING BY PHONE

In a major voting procedure, provincial Liberals in Nova Scotia chose Democratic Mayor Dr. John Savage, 40, as their new leader. The two-ballot election took place by telephone, with the 7,000 party members able to cast their vote on a worded computer. Savage will face Conservative Premier Donald Cameron, whose popularity has suffered in a rene of last month's Westport news disaster, in a provincial election expected this fall.

### OUTRAGED PARENTS

Accused with a 150,000-sign petition, the parents of a 13-year-old boy who was stabbed to death in a Calgary schoolyard last month urged Ottawa to toughen legislation governing young offenders. Six-year-old Margaret Garriock started the petition after learning that the 15-year-old boy charged with the killing faces a maximum five-year sentence if he is convicted under the Young Offenders Act.

ing one calling for the fingerprinting of virtually all refugee claimants—were seen by many political observers as attempts to appeal to traditional Tory supporters who may be ready to bolt to the polls.

Despite the drop in the polls, Manning demonstrated in his Ontario tour that he can still draw a crowd. More than 10,000 people in and around Toronto turned out to support him at such communities as Newmarket, Belleville and Windsor. And when asked about Reform's apparently jagged prospects, Manning responded to questions by pointing to the party's past membership of 135,000, almost double the 70,000 of a year ago. Among the party's new recruits are 35,000 Ontarians, Manning told *Maclean's* in an interview (page 13). He added: "This is the army that's going to fight the next election."

For a movement born out of western resentment of Central Canada's political power—and despite warnings from party members that Reform risked alienating its western supporters by going outside its regional base—the party's organizers are devoting a tremendous amount of energy to winning votes in Ontario. "Ontario is the key," says Vinp Anderson, the party's Calgary-based election-coordinator-coordinator. "It has more seats than all of the West combined." And starting with a consultation meeting set for the Caledonia/Goderich riding near Ontario on July 18, Anderson says that the party wants to have candidates in place in most of the province's 90 federal ridings by the end of September.

At least part of this focus on Ontario is due to what even some Reform officials acknowledge is the party's slow progress in other parts of the country. Apart from British Columbia, where the latest Angus Reid poll shows 30 per cent of decided voters supporting Reform, and Alberta, where the party commands the support of 40 per cent of undecided voters, the Reform message is tough sell. In Saskatchewan, for one, the party has only 7,000 members—after years of cultivating the province's grassroots. "My view is that we're going to have to do things communally by province," says Don Lewis, a Saskatoon-based businessman and vice-chairman of Reform's national executive council. "People here tend to analyse things very deeply." Lewis says that many people in Saskatchewan, which offered the first comprehensive healthcare plan in 1960, were actually skeptical of Reform's promise to phase out the province's health care entirely with the provinces. Says Lewis: "There was deep concern that we were talking about eroding social programs. Now, people are the whole social fabric being eroded."

Lewis maintains that Reform is building a solid base in Saskatchewan. But Brent Miller, an engineer from York, Ont., who recently left his Reform party membership base, is less optimistic. Miller, who served as the party's membership development co-ordinator until last September, argues that Reform will find it difficult to make significant headway in the province until it goes beyond slogans such as Manning's oft-repeated vision of a "New Canada." Adds Miller: "Talking about the new Canada only takes you so far. It gets you far to the door, but people want to hear some specifics."

Reform's advances have been even more glacial in Atlantic Canada, where the party began actively soliciting support a year ago. Since then, it has increased its membership

of executives to come from Macleod.

Despite the recent setbacks, few political observers are prepared to write Reform's early lead, for one, estimates that if its current standing in the polls, the party could still win between 30 and 40 seats, most of those in Alberta and British Columbia, as well as a few in rural Ontario. And even if Reform support drops a few more points, he adds, the party could still split the right-wing vote in enough ridings to trigger the Tanzi re-election hopes. For his part, Gregg says that the electorate is now so volatile that almost anything can happen in the course of a 50-day election campaign. "Reform is a legitimate force in Canadian politics," he adds. "Manning has tapped into a fairly responsive chord by promising to listen

# Manning's battle plan

The Reform leader's 'army' is ready to roll

In five years, Premier Manning has taken the Reform party, from a small unheeded protest movement to a national political force that, if a federal election were held now, would likely hold the balance of power in the House of Commons. But following last year's impressive gains in public opinion polls, Reform's progress appears to have stalled—and the party has faced a barrage of public criticism from its chief political rival, the federal Conservatives. Manning discussed the challenges facing his party in an interview with *Macleod's* Associate Editor Brian Bergman in Newmarket, Ont., one of 17 Ontario towns and cities that the Reform lead or surpassed in earlier this month's election.

***Macleod's:*** The Reform party has failed to improve its standings in the polls for over six months. Did it peak too soon?

**Manning:** We tend to think of it as the end of one phase and the beginning of another. So far, we've been limited in the means of promoting ourselves. Right now, there's only myself and our one MP [Deborah Grey—Beverly Kresl] as the major representatives. But in the next six months, more than 200 candidates who the media will respect as spokespersons. That will multiply our communications capacity one-hundredfold.

***Macleod's:*** The polls also show that the Conservatives, after having enjoyed a lead, are gaining public support. Does that worry you?

**Manning:** Our view was that they were bound to come back. A national party with all the resources it has, undoubtedly do come in 12 to 15 per cent in the polls indefinitely. But we measure our growth in other ways than polls. In terms of party membership, we're up to 135,000, from 70,000 one year ago. That is the army that's going to fight the next election.

***Macleod's:*** The Tories have launched a series of anti-writing ads against your party first in Ontario and now in Calgary. Are these ads a sign of potential support?

**Manning:** It's hard to tell. In Calgary, we've been out there with our signs for three months. Some people are still in the mood. It's all part of an attempt to trigger people's fears—so anyone who challenges the status quo on language and culture is a threat, and anybody who talks about cutting government spending is out to expose the old, the sick and the poor. If you

repeat those things often enough, they are bound to have an effect. But I think that in Canada there is a line that you cross where it starts to become counterproductive. ***Macleod's:*** Do you plan to resign?

**Manning:** I think that to nominate in 1992 would just turn off a lot of our own people who are fed up with traditional politics. What we



Manning: 'we have to be modest—and realistic'

here to do a long afternoon what we are about. ***Macleod's:*** You have stated that it is unrealistic to expect Reform to go from having one MP to forming the next government. Is the coming election really a test run for the one after that?

**Manning:** I think we have to be modest—and realistic. Most likely, we'll get a block of votes in this next Parliament and show what we can do. If we do well, then maybe we'll get a real look at the end of the second term round.

***Macleod's:*** How many seats does Reform have to win to remain respectable?

**Manning:** The pollsters say that we could win

between 30 and 40 seats. That figure is out there. I think we have to get a bit range to be sure the public sees progress. ***Macleod's:*** If, as many expect, the next Parliament is fractured among five parties, would you consider being part of a coalition government?

**Manning:** No. We've said it all prior to change the rules so that no party could be defeated without bringing down the government. If that happens, we could do without formal alliances.

***Macleod's:*** Are there any issues on which you would break down the government?

**Manning:** We could not support a new government if it continued to spend like the current one. And if the government adopted a program that was grossly discriminatory against one of the regions—the equivalent of the Liberals' 1980 National Energy Program—we would oppose it.

***Macleod's:*** The current round of national unity talks appears to be deadlocked. Can the first ministers still crack a deal?

**Manning:** I think the process is fundamentally flawed. If it were achieved their widest dreams of putting some packages together, it will all apart. And each time that happens, people become more cynical and a grid harder to push up the process. The basic problem is that they still think that the way to much peace is to recognize founding races and grant special status to groups in the Constitution.

***Macleod's:*** What is at issue with recognizing Quebec as a distinct society—and giving that non-legal force?

**Manning:** The biggest problem is that the public doesn't buy it. The opinion surveys show that if distinct society means conferring on Quebec powers that other provinces don't enjoy, it's not a deal. Maybe you can sell it as a closed meeting or some stacked conference, but you can't sell it to the public. And you're deceiving Quebec if you say it can be sold.

***Macleod's:*** Of course, with a referendum on a constitutional package that ships short of the Triple E. Surely or given Quebec a veto, will you compromise again?

**Manning:** I've have to evaluate the package on its merits. They might do it in such a way that no one can say no to it—but that saying you don't mean anything.

***Macleod's:*** Do you take any encouragement from the success that Ross Perot is having with his independent bid for the White House?

**Manning:** I think that someone challenging the traditional parties completely outside the system is somewhat similar to what we're doing. Of course, we don't have \$100 million to campaign on along. I think that if he does well, it may cause to challenge the system from outside will not seem as preposterous as it might once have.



Reform supporters sing O Canada at a rally in Belleville; testing low-and-order theories

from 200 to just under 3,000 and established constituency organizations in 12 of the region's 32 federal ridings. Reform party proposals to dramatically cut federal spending are clearly worrisome to some Atlantic residents, including Thomas Odumosu, manager of procurement at a National Sea Products plant in Amherst, Cans. Nfld., which has been hit hard since early March because of recent reductions in the red quota. "The only thing that I do know about Reform is that they are against government assistance for depressed areas," says Odumosu. "Looking at our current state, I am not sure that these policies would be all that popular in Newfoundland."

The Reform party's progress has also been surprisingly slow in Manitoba, where provincial membership now stands at 7,000. Reform there evolved a barrage of anti-socialist publicity earlier this year after provincial members voted to expel four local activists who had accused the Calgary-based leadership of ignoring grassroots concerns. Among those ousted: George Van Der Bosch, a Winnipeg tax lawyer who was the only director of the party's national

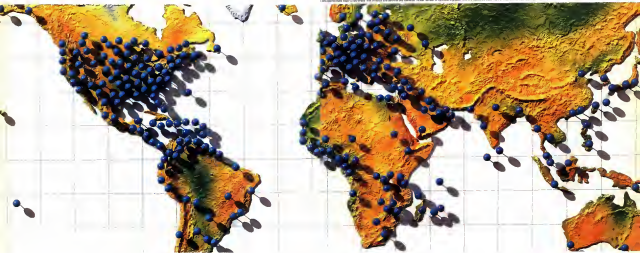
in the common sense of the common people."

Others point out that political events may yet re-ignite voter passions in favor of Reform. University of Calgary political scientist Roger Gibbons, for one, predicts that in the coming weeks Mulroney and his government will likely propose what he calls a "round-table" constitutional package. While many voters in English Canada will resent the concessions given to Quebec, Gibbons suggests that they will accept the deal for the sake of finally resolving the nation—and then visit their frustration on election campaigns. As he watches the same policies followed in the current round of Tory-fueled ads, Manning may well see in such scenarios the seeds of a counterattack.

BRIAN BERGMAN with JILL ESSLER in  
Barnes and JOHN DEWITT in Halifax



# Thinking globally?



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# WHO SPEAKS FOR CANADA?

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS  
COULD RESULT IN RADICAL CHANGES  
IN HOW THE NATION WORKS

They were 36 men gathered together, often denied in their desires and beliefs, but united in their pragmatism and willingness to work towards a common goal. In September of 1864, when the Fathers of Confederation began meeting in Charlottetown, the vision of Canada meant different things to each of them. To French Quebecers, the idea of joining with the English-speaking colonies to create Canada represented the union of two feuding provinces. To John A. Macdonald, who was to become Canada's first prime minister, the union marked the chance to create a new central government with strong powers. And to some other participants, the new Canada was simply their last hope of protecting themselves against the looming line of attack from the United States. Partly because of those differences, the document they produced in 1867 creating Canada—the British North America Act—now sits in robes and modest atonement, reflecting neither principles nor goals. When Canada's founding fathers could not agree on its text, they put it aside, to be settled in future discussions.

The 36 men who drew up the first Act gave Canadians a country to share, the bare outlines of a political system, and the unspoken but implicit understanding that their own responsibilities ended there. The Fathers of Confederation made no promise that they could not keep. Woeily, they seemed to understand that they would not lock the Canada of the future into the rigidity of 1867; in well-thought Canadian fashion, they avoided the sweeping declarations, often responsible to two or 150, that other second democracies made in their constitutions. Now, 135 years later, the myriad of politicians, constitutional lawyers, bureaucrats, native leaders and members of other special-interest groups busily reshaping Canada's Constitution have apparently turned their backs on those simple—but still solid—principles.

For months, Ottawa's private politics has shown that the fondlest hope of many people is that the constitutional crisis can be resolved quickly and in a way that minimizes any upheaval in their daily lives. Canadians are almost certain to be disappointed. If the current round of talks aimed at revamping the Constitution is successful, it will result in a dizzying series of changes to what governments can—and cannot—do. With such

changes enshrined in the Constitution, Canadians may never again be allowed to overlook their gender, language of origin, area of residence or ethnic distinctions when they consider their political institutions.

Ironically, Quebec, the province that has traditionally posed the hardest for constitutional change, is not a participant in the present talks (page 22). But despite Premier Robert Bourassa's absence, the nine other provinces and assorted other participants are contemplating a Canada that raises far more questions than answers. The equal, elected and effective Senate, for one, that some provinces propose would make Canada politically far more similar to the United States at the very time that Americans are profoundly questioning their own system. Other proposals for Senate reform, such as special representation for women and francophones and more voting power for senators from larger provinces, also have the potential to create a powerful but fragmented upper chamber that could drag Parliament to a standstill. Such a reformed Senate could kill or paralyze legislation that does not satisfy the differing groups.

**Whisper:** But who speaks for Canada? In many ways, the current constitutional reform process has become the breeding of special-interest groups that are driving it as severely, often conflicting directions (page 18). Those groups hold a powerful weapon: many of the country's politicians have become so cowed by public opinion and by politics that they are unwilling to risk claims that they are among any element of society. At one set of constitutional talks during the spring in Toronto, there were more than 600 accredited representatives of deferred delegations—yet only 12 were duly elected politicians from the federal government, provinces or territories.

For native Canadians, if the current round of changes are accepted, their first shock will come when they approach the ballot box, and continue when it comes time to seek action through their elected representatives. In response to lobbying from the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark—with the



tact approval of other participants—has suggested that women be guaranteed a certain percentage of seats in an elected Senate. But senior Clark cut the suggestion but addressed the issues raised by such a measure, should those female senators represent only the concerns of women, and should male senators even involve themselves with women's issues because they cannot promise to have the same expertise? If some senators' votes would count for more than others—as Clark also has suggested it possible—would the designated women senators be allowed extra weight for bills on such women's issues as pay equity or abortion? Could a mere challenge such a distinction be discriminatory?

**Therapy:** There are no clear answers—only the certainty that the current negotiations have opened a Pandora's box of issues that may be impossible to resolve. Among them is the notion of guaranteed francophone representation in the Senate. Under that plan, accepted as principle by Ottawa and most provinces, any legislative affecting language issues would have to be passed by an overall Senate majority as well as a majority of designated francophone senators. But that presents another thorny issue: what constitutes a francophone? Some Quebec nationalists argue that Pierre Trudeau was more anglophobic than francophone because of the influence of his Scottish mother. Some Quebecers regard Prime Minister Brian Mulroney as a francophone, despite his English-speaking upbringing. Canadians could state their designation, but that raises the possibility that bilingual anglophones opposed to legislation supporting French-speaking rights might declare themselves as francophones in order to fight such legislation. And could a francophone woman run as a designated francophone, designated women and regular Senate candidates in the same election?

Probably, many politicians involved in the process want that the most uncertain and potentially vexing questions surround the agreement to constitutionally acknowledge the rights of natives to govern themselves. That agreement makes no attempt to define the terms of self-government. Instead, it offers a three-year waiting period from the time a new constitutional deal is ratified for natives to come to an agreement with Ottawa. But few experts believe that it is possible to achieve the varied, complex agreements required with each of Canada's more than 600 aboriginal people in that time. It also means unclear what Clark means when he says that provinces may be allowed to "opt in and opt out" of such agreements. Does recognizing the right of self-government make aboriginal nations the legal equal—or, in some ways, superior—to the province? Will a native contracting as an offence be judged under the same law as other Canadians? Will self-government enable Canada's 600,000 aboriginal people to be more self-sufficient, or will it isolate them further from the North American mainstream?

The questions are seemingly endless. For Canada's original Fathers of Confederation, those were not the sort of issues to be dealt with in a constitution. Today's negotiators appear far more willing to stamp their own values onto the country's most important document. The discussions may end in failure. Ottawa may prefer to let the current talks scuttled in order to present Canadians with a vastly pared-down list of proposals (page 21). But if they succeed in their present aims, the negotiations may leave Canadians with a legacy that could be regarded as more a cumbersome, dated handicap than a welcome gift.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa

# A CHANGE OF HEART

**EVEN KEY FEDERAL  
AND PROVINCIAL  
OFFICIALS NOW  
WANT THE PACKAGE  
TO DIE**

It is a constitutional recipe designed to please the public of every province and every interest group. But the final product could have sweeping, perhaps devastating effects on Canada as a whole. Negotiators are now fine-tuning proposals that could dramatically complicate the functioning of the federal government—and stress already overburdened federal and provincial treasuries. Among the proposals is an integrated, elected Senate with guaranteed seats for women and aboriginals—and some senators whose votes are worth more than others. As well, aboriginals would receive recognition of their right to self-government, but most of the participants appear to know what powers that right would entail—or how much self-government would cost Canadian taxpayers. The provisions would give exclusive power over such areas as forestry and manpower training, but Ottawa would still foot the bill for these programs. "It is like a smorgasbord," says University of Calgary political scientist Roger Gidycz. "There is something in it for everyone. But the white politicians don't like being together or part of the country in any particular direction."

These draft proposals, released in early June, are the result of a unique process in which politicians have sought to advance their traditional regional concerns while meeting the needs of increasingly vocal interest groups. At the negotiating table are representatives from the federal government, nine provinces—Quebec has boycotted all constitutional negotiations since the failure of the Meech Lake accord two years ago—and the two territories and four aboriginal groups. But allegedly overlooking the provisions from outside the negotiating chamber are walled representatives of groups concerned about women's rights, the environment, workers, business, linguistic minorities, visible

minorities, the handicapped, artists and students. Politicians can no longer afford to ignore those groups, largely because of the grassroots opposition that helped defeat the Meech Lake accord. The time, politicians have added a multitude of other exchange provisions designed to secure the support of the interest groups—or, at least, their silence. Observed Senator Gerald Bronson, who cochaired a parliamentary committee on constitutional reform: "Today, it is impossible to do anything without involving the interest groups."

The decision to accept—and even con-



**McGreevey trying to satisfy vigilantly interest groups**

less—interest groups in constitutional-making is a new phenomenon. Prior to 1980, constitutional talks were a tag of war between Ottawa and the provinces over who controlled what. But the patriation of the Constitution, completed in 1982 along with the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, dramatically altered the nature of constitutional discussions. Now, many Canadians feel that the Constitution belongs to them—and that their rights are at stake and their voices should be heard. Ignored during the Meech Lake round, they are now shouting for attention. The result is complexity, even though Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark insisted last week that he

was building upon a national will to save the nation. "It is our challenge to find a compromise that can work for the whole country," Clark said. But many observers say that such a compromise lacks clear national roots. In the view of Carleton University political scientist Robert Jackson, "No one stands up for Canada as a whole. As people discuss the world in terms of these fragmented interests, they forget this concern for Canada."

The proposals emerging from the current discussions are confusing—and somewhat distressing—even for the participants. After three months of formal negotiations, the only public document is a deceptively slim 19-page draft proposal, which includes 64 vague clauses. At the same time, across the nation, four constitutional working groups of federal and provincial officials have hammered those proposals into a final legal text. That text could form the basis of a federal act to Quebec.

But Mackenzie has learned that key officials in Ottawa and provincial capitals have become increasingly dissatisfied about the enormity of the potential changes—and their possible cost. Those officials say that negotiators became so intent on hammering out a constitutional deal that they did not consider the full ramifications of each proposal. As well, many rank-and-file senior officials were reluctant to risk the wrath of the interest groups, instead, they publicly assented to negotiators' requests and privately worried about the potential costs. Now, many key players privately say that they doubt the wisdom of accepting the package, despite the clear public promise to sign a deal and to end the wearying process. In the end, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney will likely ignore much of the draft. Ottawa will probably prepare its own package of constitutional proposals with more appeal to Quebec.

In fact, many experts believe that the current negotiations have included too many participants and too many issues. Said the University of Calgary's Gidycz: "I do not think we have a process that is able to satisfactorily accommodate the scale of constitutional



**Crucial officials from Ottawa and Hull, Que., linking arms in a show of unity last week. Confederation are shouting for attention**

change that is proposed right now." Added University of Toronto political scientist Robert Jackson: "There is a widespread rejection of the old, consensual, relatively elite, subtly closed politics of bargaining and compromise. It is now the politics of inclusion, participation and symbolism—and we have not learned how to do this kind of new politics yet."

Some of the key proposals—and their implications for the country:

**The Senate:** The current negotiations became deadlocked over the exact form a new Senate would take. But the draft proposal lays out certain principles. The reformed upper chamber would be an elected body, with senators serving fixed terms of six years. The method of election would be unclear at present, the candidate with the most votes wins elections at every level of government in Canada. In the new Senate, parties would be allocated seats proportionally, based on their overall percentage of the popular vote. No environmental party, for example, that received 10 per cent of the votes would most likely secure 10 per cent of the seats. There would be guaranteed seats for aboriginals. As well, the draft proposals contain the vague suggestion that the Senate

should "reflect the diversity" of Canadian society by providing seats for women—and, presumably, for visible minorities as well.

Some experts warn that the new Senate could paralyze the federal government. Because the timing of Senate elections would be independent of those for the House of Commons, voters would probably see their Senate vote to Congress disconnection with the governing party. That could then result in an opposed two-controlled Senate, which could repeatedly delay or block government legislation. The new Senate would also increase the parliamentary tension and power of small, so-called fringe parties. Those parties would be given players when larger parties sought coalition support to defeat—or pass—legislation. Says Patrick Monahan, director of the York University Centre for Public Law and Public Policy:

"Parity with very small numbers of seats will wield enormous influence because they will be able to extract concessions from the large parties in return for their support."

Senate proposals are also vague about the powers of the new body and the number of representatives from each province. Only three words describe the power of the Senate over most legislation: "It is determined." To add to the confusion, there is no agreement on the distribution of seats. Most populous provinces, such as Ontario and Quebec, must that they should have more senators, other provinces, such as Alberta, want an equal vote to protect their provisions, rights and resources from central Canadian domination. As a compromise, Saskatchewan has suggested that each province should have an equal number of senators, but that

senators from the more populous provinces should have more votes on unspecified issues. Declined the University of Toronto's Bronson: "It is a perfect example of how, in the desperation to find agreement, one simply covers up with Murray proposals."

**Aboriginal peoples:** Although aboriginal peoples are accorded 20 of the 64 draft proposals, the most important provision is the recognition of their

**Q • Would the new Senate really give more power to smaller provinces?**

Probably not. With equal numbers of senators, individual provinces would have to form large coalitions to defeat or pass legislation. It is questionable whether Alberta senators in an elected Senate could have defeated the 1980 National Energy Program—because central and eastern provinces endorsed the idea of lower energy prices. But a new Senate would almost certainly guarantee the presence of fringe parties and a diluted system of proportional representation. That would weaken the kind of fringe politics seen in Ireland and Italy, where coalitions among business parties form and collapse with alarming frequency. The resulting chaos could grid the government to a halt.

"inherent" right to self-government. Indeed, the constitutional formula specifically recognizes aboriginal governments in one of three orders of government, along with federal and provincial governments. Says University of Western Ontario political scientist Robert Young: "We are agreeing that aboriginals are different, that they have a different culture, different history and different languages and that they constitute nations. They have the right to govern themselves, and they have always had it."

The problem, of course, is that negotiators are unable to agree on how much power or money to give to the natives. As a result, they have agreed to negotiate those important questions later. If they cannot work out self-government agreements within three years, the natives can ask the courts to define their rights.

McLachlin has learned that the constitutional working group on aboriginal issues has attempted to define self-government as the necessary "to negotiate and develop language, culture, identities, institutions, traditions and economics." That list could mean that Ottawa would transfer to natives enormous powers over everything from education and child welfare to foreign trade. As Assembly of First Nations National Chief Ovide Mercredi told Maclean's: "We have to create our own institutions." But there is an additional complication: even if constitutional negotiators adopt their far-reaching definition, Canada's 633 Indian bands, the Métis, the Inuit and non-Indian communities would likely insist upon additional self-government agreements with provincial governments as well as with Ottawa.

Clearly, the cost could be enormous. McLachlin has learned that the working group has also proposed that Ottawa and the provinces should provide aboriginals with enough money to govern their own affairs, to provide economic, social and cultural development and employment opportunities, and to provide services "reasonably comparable" to those available to other Canadians. That statement has terrified many provincial officials who wonder what services they will have to fund and what standards they will have to meet. Federal politicians have privately said that self-government could add at least \$10 billion to the \$4 billion now being spent for aboriginals. Warren University of Alberta economist Paul Boudin: "The fear is that this is going to be an astronomically expensive, open-ended commitment."

**Equalization:** Under the Constitution Act, 1982, Ottawa was to give enough money to poorer provinces to enable them to provide services comparable to those available in wealthier provinces. But in the late 1980s, despite provincial outcry, Ottawa limited the growth of those payments, the Supreme Court of Canada has subsequently upheld Ottawa's right to terminate federal-provincial agreements.

Now, in response to demands from the poorer provinces, the draft proposals would strengthen the federal commitment to equalization payments. The wording is murky: it re-states the concept of comparable services to

achieve "economic infrastructure of a national nature." Critics point out that "infrastructure" could mean anything from low-cost highways to advanced telecommunications systems. That some critics argue that provinces could use that new guarantee in the courts to force Ottawa to keep its funding commitments. Warren the University of Alberta's Boudin: "All this talk of the constitutional safe ignores that fundamental



Mercredi no agreement on how much power or money natives should get

inherent of the budget. There is no limit as to how spending and there is no discussion of where the revenues are going to come from."

**Division of power:** Some provinces, such as Quebec, have consistently advocated equal powers to shape their own policies. Others, especially the poorer provinces, would prefer

to maintain a strong central government. The conflict has plagued Canada since Confederation. Is an attempt to appease both groups, the draft constitutional proposal presents a complete compromise: Ottawa would formally recognize the provinces' exclusive power over nine separate areas, including forestry, housing and tourism. But Ottawa would still be stuck with the 58. Each province that chooses

to exercise exclusive power would work out an agreement with Ottawa to secure federal money for provincial programs, each province that allows the federal government to continue its programs would also work out an agreement that commits Ottawa to continued spending. That could result in a chaotic system of 90 different agreements across the nation. Says the University of Toronto's Boudin: "This is very confused. What could have been a process of disentangling, sorting and clarification turns out not to be that."

For Canada, the coming weeks will be pivotal ones. The nation is poised on the edge of constitutional changes that could alter the shape of the nation—and the course of its history. But the scope of those changes is unclear: their implications are uncertain. As the current round of constitutional talks approaches its conclusion, many Canadians—including many constitutional makers—may eventually draw a limited lesson from the draft proposals: the demands of the nation's parts do not necessarily add up to the needs of Canada as a whole.

MARY JANKSON and NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

# PREPARING FOR DEADLOCK

## OTTAWA HAS DRAFTED ITS OWN PROPOSALS

He sat with his back to his long-room window, watching a silhouette that struck a familiar, ominous pose in the St. John's evening last week. For almost three hours over dinner at his home on Westmain, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells made it clear to his visitor, Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark, that he strongly objected to key elements in the fledgling federal proposal for a renewed Canada. It was not the first occasion that a dinner guest from Ottawa with a deadline to meet

some state to ensure the dismantling of unapproved trade barriers. Also under discussion at a speed-draw and more precisely defined aboriginal self-government package, even though native leaders said that Clark assured them last week that the current aboriginal agreement would stand.

**Wells:** A constitutional, state-to-state and subsequent unilateral action—very well suit the Mulroney government's agenda. Senior officials say that the federal government is now looking at some of the agreements

But echoes of past troubles continue to haunt the politics in the current frame. Former prime minister Joe Clark, when he signed the present's past book took one of a leader's signature—that of former Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau, a passionate critic of decentralized government who had lived with Wells through the current frame. Then, on the day after the Clark Wells dinner, the constitutional affairs minister returned Newfoundlanders in two public speeches, saying that the beleaguered province had the most to



Wells (left) with Clark: "I operate on the basis that people may well have different opinions."

reached over four months of negotiations with native organizations and main provinces. The estimated \$100-million process of public consultation launched after the demise of Menzies' last government's half-completed and cumbersome shopping list that some officials now say goes too much to aboriginals and too little to Quebec. The advisers said that private polls show that public support for native self-government is falling sharply in the absence of precise details. At the same time, many strategists are clearly wary of public opinion, especially the overwhelming desire to end the constitutional ordeal. Accord with polls that suggest that Canadians are increasingly optimistic about the nation's future. Does strategists now say that the country may be willing to accept a unilateral federal offer?

As the talks unfold and Quebec separates from the rest of Canada. In particular, Clark painted bleak scenarios of the effects on the stalled Atlantic economy of project and the devastated East Coast factory, even mentioning the 1986 gas-Mexico company with federal cabinet ministers' involvement Newfoundland with similar predictions.

The Tories' aim then was to isolate Wells, the current strategy is clearly the same. As Clark said a business group in the small community of Pictou, 25 km from St. John's, "If we are suddenly in this country, we will not be able to achieve internationally the agreements we need." Such dire warnings will likely increase if, as expected, Wells puts his personal opposition to a constitutional deal to the Newfoundland public in a personal referendum. Declared

the current strategy is clearly the same. As Clark said a business group in the small community of Pictou, 25 km from St. John's, "If we are suddenly in this country, we will not be able to achieve internationally the agreements we need." Such dire warnings will likely increase if, as expected, Wells puts his personal opposition to a constitutional deal to the Newfoundland public in a personal referendum. Declared

Wells later has dinner with Clerk. "If I can't accept what the dear majority of the people of this province want, my responsibility is to resign and make way for somebody who will."

Other governments may also take their cue to the people. Ottawa and five provinces have entered to set in place the legislative mechanisms required to hold public referendums on constitutional proposals. But the federal Conservatives, fearful of a backlash of voter dissatisfaction with their eight years in power, are wary of a national referendum. Instead, federal officials say that they prefer to split the constitutional package and pass the proposals one at a time, if necessary, despite Clark's repeated public declarations that agreement must be reached on the entire deal.

**Wary:** Political reputations also hang in the balance. In an apparently halfhearted gesture of compromise, Alberta Premier Donald Getty, who has asserted that Alberta will not budge from its demand for an equal, effective and elected Senate, sought independent advice last week on a Saskatchewan proposal that would give all provinces an equal number of senators. The proposal, according to some of their population, then advice stratified two extreme points of view, expressed in a 30-minute meeting with Quebec businessman Claude Bourdon, who serves as equal but weighted Senate, and the Calgary-based Canada West Foundation, which strongly supports the so-called Triple E proposal. Observers say that Getty, who faces an election in early in this fall, is weighing pressures from both sides.

*By David A. Galloway, Staff Writer, The University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta*

<sup>1</sup> He needs a victory very badly. If not a victory, then he intends to go down as flames with honor and glory."

Despite reservations about some aspects of the package, federal opposition parties appear unwilling—or too weary—to fight. Constitutional critics from both the Liberals and the PCs told Marston's that they are prepared to support the 64 items of the draft proposal, even though there are members of the legal council

tions. In addition, the two parties are unperturbed by the possibility that Ottawa may act alone. Said Liberal critic André Guelin: "There's no excuse for not settling this. We have no strategy. We want a deal. This thing has been going on too long." For his part, NDP spokesman Lucien Nadeau acknowledged that "there are a lot of unanswered questions." But he added that the NDP will support the government's proposals, even though "there are no

promised her to resign.

**Intimacy:** Meanwhile, the hard-line conservative Prime Minister, Jean Charest, was in Quebec on the weekend of June 13. Charest met secretly with Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa at the Liberal leader's Montreal home. As well, federal constitutional officials continued to brief their Quebec counterparts by telephone. Send a senior federal adviser to Quebec to tell them that they would not go back to the table. But they have never stopped working with the provinces and the federal government—they have truly behaved like they were in a bedroom. "With the constitutional talks seemingly headed towards greater seriousness, such positive sentiments may become increasingly rare."

R. KAYE FULSON as Ottavia and ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH as Onus and RUSSELL WANGERBY as St. John's.

proposals. Otherwise, he declared, "I don't think it will get very far." And the ultimate fight, for the hearts and minds of the Quaker electorate, will now ensue—a referendum on the proposed future that must be held by Oct. 26.

Last week, Quebec's chief electoral officer, Pierre Cluz, began looking for space for refer-

must still gain a veto over future constitutional changes, he said that many of Quebec's demands had been satisfied.

By partly breaking his silence and making these guarded notes of opposition, the Quebec premier is making and his position—and ready himself for the battle ahead. Quebec's separatists, who will vote in the streets this week at the province's annual St. Jean Baptiste Day festivity, are certain to brand any federal constitutional offer to Quebec as inadequate. Members of the more militant youth wing of the Rassemblement libéral party have also expressed dismay over the direction of the recent constitutional talks. Liberal youth president Michel Desrosiers told *Maclean's* last week that in effect to Quebec has to provide the extensive more powers than under current

He promises a 125 billion. For his part, Bourassa repeated earlier statements ruling out a referendum on sovereignty. Instead, he said, Quebecers will probably be asked to vote on the acceptability of a federal constitutional offer to create a new level of federalism. The right for Quebec, public opinion, Bourassa may enjoy a powerful advantage — mirrored federal government — to make a choice. But, at the moment, two-thirds of Quebecers are prepared to follow their premier's lead. But with a federal constitutional offer still shrouded in uncertainty, there are clearly no guarantees that Bourassa can continue to count on that support.

CLYDE ALLEN on *Chicago*

## 'QUEBEC CANNOT BE BLAMED'

His political style—one that, he often served him well during his 12 years as Quebec premier—was to treat an event, avoiding decisions and declarations that might later be regretted. Not surprisingly, that strategy has also marked Quebec Premier Parizeau's approach to the referendum. Parizeau's apparent critics who have vowed him to take a firm stand on the current constitutional discussions, which Quebec has boycotted. But on a rare encounter with journalists in Quebec City on Thursday, Parizeau appeared more prepared to show his head—and the outline of his mannered forehead—than to take a stand on the referendum. He was in Quebec by mid-July, after which he would consult his Liberal party caucus, the party executive and—a compromise expected in August—the party chief. But Parizeau also seemed to want to show the current talks have shown the rest of Canada to be seriously divided on several issues, including the "Quebec Question" in the words of Nelson Aldrich. He added that Quebec



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# When It Was Decreed Thou Shalt Not Covet, This Could Not Have Been Foreseen.



# JAPAN AND CANADA: COMPARING THE COUNTRIES

Japan is a small country with an area just less than that of Newfoundland. Eighty per cent of it is mountainous, so a majority of its 124 million people live on less than 10 per cent of the land along the Pacific seaboard from Tokyo to Kyushu, the southern island. To a Japanese, Canada's size and spaciousness are nearly inconceivable.

On a per person basis, the Japanese and Canadian economies are close in size. Though Japan's is larger, \$2,500 more per capita, generally higher price levels there give the advantage to Canada.

Surveys show the typical Japanese work week is longer than that of Canadians: about 30 minutes more a day over a five-day week. Average Japanese earnings are higher than in Canada but Japanese taxes tend to be lower. In Japan, women make up a significant part of the work force — 90.7 per cent — but in Canada they comprise merely 45 per cent.

## THE JAPAN-CANADA PARTNERSHIP

In 1984, Canada and Japan did \$17 billion worth of trade. Japan is Canada's second largest export market. Accumulated Japanese direct investment in Canada exceeded \$5 billion by the end of 1984. A 1981 Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) survey found that Japanese companies in Canada employed more than 24,000 people. Canadian investment in Japan is more than \$400 million. All of these numbers expanded dramatically during the late 1980s.

More Canadians and Japanese are visiting each other: Japanese made 558,000 trips to Canada in 1991, while in 1990 (the year for which the most recent figures were available) Canadians made 63,000 journeys to Japan.



Most Japanese live in modern climates. Still, winter skiing is a popular sport in Japan.

## LIFESTYLES

Recreating in adult recreation has not caught on in Japan as it has in Canada. Though a good portion of Japan has snowy winters, most live in more moderate climates. Despite this, alpine skiing is a popular sport in Japan. The northeast coast of golf in Japan (over 1200 is thought) means more people use caddies than golf courses.

Despite high housing prices, 81 per cent of Japanese own their own homes, slightly less than the Canadian rate. Japanese houses are smaller and have fewer rooms: an average of 4.8 rooms per dwelling, compared with 5.8 in Canada.

It is easy to imagine Japanese traffic problems when one considers that, in that densely populated country, nearly 60 per cent of households have cars, compared with 83 per cent in Canada.

In Canada, it is necessary to leave part of a parking space before assuming car ownership.

Japan's hot, humid summers mean that 80 per cent of the people have air conditioners. While household ownership of VCRs in Japan and Canada is similar, Canadians still compact disc players are



Keio J.R. Institute: the central terminal of Japan Rail and home terminal of the Shinkansen (bullet train).

more prevalent in Japan. More Canadians have home computers, but 31 per cent of Japanese households do have computers while Canadians have more computers.



Tokyo Fish Market: one of its largest fish markets in the sea

# BUSINESS CONNECTIONS

Japan and Canada have significant business ties. These are usually expressed by figures, trade and investment statistics. Behind these numbers are dedicated people committed not only to shipments and rates of return, but to the wider, long-term Japan-Canada relationships.

## SHICHIRO SAITO



Shichiro Saito, president and CEO of Mitsui & Co., was transferred from New York to head trading company Mitsui's Toronto office in October.

1990. Besides his Vienna duties, he is a United Way volunteer member for Greater Toronto and former president of the Toronto Japanese Association of Commerce and Industry. His voluntary work in both positions, is focused on promoting greater community involvement by Japanese business.

The Association is an organization of Toronto area Japanese business people. Membership comprises 190 corporate and 45 individual members. Its original purpose was to establish and coordinate Saturday Japanese school for the children of the members, joined in the 1970s.

Another important role is cooperating with Japanese Canadian groups to promote a wider understanding of Japanese culture. To spearhead these efforts, Saito designated an Association director responsible for community relations.

Saito credits his predecessor at the Association, Masaharu Kato, and former Japanese Consul General Tadashi Matsui with doing the necessary groundwork in introducing the Japanese business community to the United Way. "Unfortunately," says Saito "the United Way must not be known in Japan and by the new Japanese posted here is not about it, it is rather slow to return to Japan." His successor at the Association, Yoshio

Takada of trading company Maruha, is working to create a continuing commitment to Canadian society.

Saito believes Canada and Japan should think about how they can better deal with a volatile world through working together. "We have had a year of world turbulence," he says. "Things are changing so rapidly. Fortunately, though, we have been enjoying a stable Canada-Japan relationship." Saito contends Canada and Japan can complement each other in the world of economic and political relations. In the economic area, Saito sees Japan helping Canada develop its trade with the

strong first Asian economies. "Canada has had strong ties across the Atlantic, but now Asia will lead economic growth," he says.

New Japanese buyers play a prominent role in Canada's economy. "Canada is a reliable, dependable supplier," observes Saito, wearing his hat for the trading company. This is unlikely to change.

## MUNEAKI NISHIDA

Muneaki Nishida, the credited executive director of the Japan External Trade Organization's (JETRO) Toronto office has a



## WILLIAM A. DEMMA

William Demma, deputy chairman (and past president and CEO) of Royal LePage, is secretary of the Canada-Japan Business Committee (JCBC). The Committee was founded in 1958, largely through then-Alcan CEO David Culver's efforts, to foster economic and personal ties between Japan and Canada.

The Japanese chairman of the JCBC is Minoru Kamei, the chairman of NKKF, Japan's second largest steel company. The Canadian side is headed by Harland MacDougall, the chairman of Royal Trustco. There are about 175 member companies from each country, says Demma.

The focus of the JCBC's activities is the annual May meetings of the countries' business leaders. Last year's meetings, held in Halifax, were attended by a total of 800 delegates: 250 from Japan and 150 Canadians.

The meetings typically start on Sunday evening through to Wednesday. There are both general and sector specific sessions. However, these are only part of the story. "The informal discussions are just as important because of the value Japanese place on personal relationships and trust," says Demma. "The Japan-Canada commercial relationship is important: we did \$17 billion in trade in 1991. Investment, as well as trade, is an issue, especially in the context of the need of other bilateral relationships. The Japanese are very interested in the PTAs and the discussions with Mexico."

Though some may be concerned about Canada's position as a provider of raw materials for Japan's manufacturing, Demma doesn't see it that way. "Our resources are our strength," he counters, "and when other markets weaken, it is good that we can still sell to Japan. However, we hope to increase our export of value-added products to Japan in the near future."

Mr. Demma believes Canada can learn much from doing business with Japan, especially in selling finished and semi-processed products. "They like to buy from us, but their quality standards are the highest in the world. If we can be successful in the Japanese market, then we can sell anywhere in the world."

Japan, on the other hand, also sees benefits in its business relationship with Canada. Says Demma, "We are a window — though at times a slightly hazy one — on the U.S. market. These exposures here can help them approach the U.S. market."

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mission to build Canada-Japan economic ties. His strategy calls for integration of JETRO's trade, investment and technology exchange promotion efforts, and further cooperation with Canadian government and industry organizations that share similar goals. This has kept him and his JETRO staff busy since he arrived in Canada at the end of last September.

Nabika has his work cut out for him. He is concerned about the increase in Canada's trade deficit with Japan — more than \$3 billion in 1991. Japanese imports from Canada were lowered by reduced resource demand as it grows, while Japanese exports of cars, machinery and electrical goods went up. The good news, points out Nabika, is that Canadian manufactured exports — such as auto parts and TV components, many from Mitsubishi's

Midland, Ontario plant — so light were up in demand, though, he does not foresee changes in the Canada-Japan trade balance — especially in light of the forecast of reduced Japanese economic growth.

He sees a slowing of Japanese direct investment in Canada, which has reached about \$5 billion. "Much of the investment took place during the 1980s in the pulp and paper and auto sectors," he explains, "and that cycle is over for a while." However, exports from Japan will remain high as the mostly Japanese machinery in those factories is replaced or upgraded.

Nabika contends the key to building stronger Canada-Japan ties is promoting technical exchange, from which trade, investment and joint ventures follow. Industrial cooperation with Japanese counterparts is an efficient way of breaking

into the costly Japanese market — especially for small- and medium-sized firms. JETRO is working to build awareness of opportunities for exchange between such businesses in both countries. "Smaller Japanese firms tend to focus on the United States and southeast Asia," says Nabika, "while those in Canada look mostly at the United States." One example of JETRO efforts is the recent Canada-Japan Biocentral Technology Forum, held in March of this year. Representatives from 41 Canadian companies came to Toronto for seminars conducted by Japanese technical experts and for one-on-one consulting with Japanese companies. Such broadening of the scope of Canada and Japanese business can only result in mutual benefits.

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### THE NKK-DOFUSCO-NATIONAL STEEL JOINT VENTURE

A unique example of Canada-Japan cooperation is the three-way joint venture involving Japan's second largest steel maker, NKK, Canadian steel maker Dofusco and America's National Steel. They have teamed up to establish a \$280 million Windsor, Ontario plant — DNN Galvanizing Corporation — to coat steel sheet for Dofusco and National. This process produces the top grade steel demanded by today's auto makers in North America and Japan.

Dofusco's share is 50 per cent, with NKK taking 40 per cent, while National Steel (70 per cent owned by NKK) has the remaining 10 per cent. Discussions on the joint venture, which began in 1986, resulted in the venture's official formation in September, 1990 — after the FTA was implemented — and commercial production will begin early next year.

Ken Capriotti, DNN's chairman and president, says the plant will institute the most modern post-purchase management approaches: limiting turnover, initiative and flexibility. Management will be "flat" — only three layers. All workers will be salaried (no time clock) and trained to be "multi-skilled."

It was a logical joint venture match, says Capriotti, "both Dofusco and National realized such a line was needed to supply the market," he explains, "but neither required the full capacity of a plant. The venture allowed us both to benefit from economies of scale."

NKK was a natural partner: Dofusco and NKK already had a reciprocal technology exchange agreement, and NKK had recently built an advanced coating line in Fukuyama, Japan. Dofusco's ties with NKK are strong. "It takes time to build a good relationship, one based on trust," points out Capriotti. "We've become good friends."

The feeling is mutual, according to Mr. Mitsuo Hasegawa of

NKK's Vancouver office. Hasegawa, who has considerable experience representing the Japanese steel industry on buying groups, is comfortable with Canada's business style. "Canada's approach is midway between Japan's and America's," he explains. "Our economy is largely group oriented, and there is a co-operation between business and government. America, on the other hand, believes in free enterprise. Canada has a good balance."

The DNN venture is only part of NKK's long-term commitment to Canada. In the late 1980s, NKK became a significant customer for British Columbia iron ore and coal. The company also led Japanese consortiums involved in the province's Gregg River and North East coal developments.

The company has also taken the lead in forming bilateral business links. NKK (Japan) chairman has served as Japanese co-chair for the Canada-Japan Businessmen's Cooperation Committee (CBCC). In 1986, the current co-chair, Masaru Kameo, succeeded Hisao Matsui, who had served during the Committee's first eight years. Both men led high profile investment missions to Canada. Kameo's contributions to Canada-Japan relations went recognized this May by an honorary degree from the University of British Columbia.

David Culver, former CEO of Alcan and still an active player in the Canada-Japan field, concurs with UBC's choice. He developed deep admiration for Kameo's efforts when they worked together on the CBCC, most notably as co-chairs. "It is fortunate for Canada that Mr. Kameo took such an interest," says Culver. "He is a man of great vision who commands respect at home and has therefore been able to accomplish so much for his mutual benefit." DNN Galvanizing is representative of the fruits of such cooperation.



Mr. Mitsuo Hasegawa of NKK's Vancouver office and family.

## JAPAN IN CANADA

The 1986 Census found that there were more than 40,000 people of Japanese origin living in Canada, mostly in the Vancouver and Toronto areas. This figure has increased — especially since more Japanese business people have been posted here.

Next are profiles of a Japanese family posted in Ontario — the Ohata — and a Canadian who came from Japan, to stay, more than 20 years ago, Jimmy Kano.

## THE OHATA FAMILY

"I had been to Canada many times on business," recalls Juroi Ohata — but saw only birds, my company, some of downtown and Niagara Falls. I did have some worries, though — about education and health care — before we moved." Ohata came to

Canada in January of last year to work as assistant general manager for Mitsubishi Electric (Canada), Technics (Quebec) in Mississauga, Ontario. His wife, Naoko, son Yutaka, 15, and daughter Erika, 14, followed him in April, after the Japanese school year ended. It is the first time the Ohatas have lived outside Japan.

"I wasn't concerned about hospital facilities," says Ohata, "but I didn't know the details. And at school, I thought language might be a problem."

They are all concentrating on their English. Juroi works at Mitsubishi in both Japanese and English. Naoko and the children began attending English as a Second Language classes in the summer. As all new Canadians learn, it is tough at first.

The Ohatas have noticed some differences in Canadian approaches to education. In Japan, students do not feel

guilty even in elementary school. The screening process occurs when students write examinations to qualify for even one more ranked high school and universities. But once students are admitted to a school or university, generally they will graduate.

The Ohatas are impressed with the number of adult community classes — carpentry, crafts and sports — available through the school systems for reasonable fees. "In Japan," says Juroi, "these courses are only provided by private companies, so they are very expensive."

The Ohata's first summer vacation was a trip within Ontario: to Agincourt Park, Kingston and Ottawa. Besides the sites and scenery, they were impressed with the highway system. "I thought I was a superior navigator," laughs Naoko. "But this was not true. It was because of the fine, well-marked roads."

JIMMY KANO  
— OUTDOOR SPORTS COORDINATOR AND HAIRSTYLIST

Japanese artwork TV, The Kane — The Pathway — is concentrating the 400th broadcast as Kane is pleased that they chose a Canadian artist.

Kano is an outdoor sports media coordinator. It is an occupation that has given him his connection with fishing and the Canadian outdoors.

Kano's other main job is as a karpenter, which was his ticket to Canada 20 years ago. Jimmy Kano slowly worked to live in Canada. For three years, he attended land-use management information sessions at the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo. Finally, in 1980, when he had acquired enough immigration "points" — including an employment "space" — he was allowed to

come.

Kano feels fortunate to have found a sponsor, Harry Singer, owner of a prominent hairdressing chain. One of Singer's friends had just been to Japan and was impressed with the skill of that country's barbers. Singer visited the Japanese Consulate General, located in the same building as his shop, and put in a request. This was matched with the firm Kano had submitted, which outlined his skill and interest in coming to Canada. Kano became a Canadian citizen five years after arriving. A provider of a letter of reference was Pierre Berthia, who introduced a customer.

Kano knows how hard it is to immigrate. "I was hardly told what I was doing," he remembers, "but I was determined to learn English and stay." To help others in similar circumstances, Kano helped start a weekly Japanese language class at a Toronto multicultural media station. He also

worked with others to found the Toronto Sotsuoka Japanese drama club, which meets twice a week among its members.

A Tokyo promoter of Canada, Kano writes a monthly column in Canadian fishing for his leading Japanese fishing magazine, The Fishing International. Since 1980, Kano's exposure in Japan has contributed to the popularity of Canadian fishing tips — especially in B.C. — with Japanese tourists.

Kano thinks more Canadians should be introduced to their own outdoors. "A lot of Canadians rarely go up north. They don't know how lucky they are."

He believes the outdoors is an important part of being Canadian and can help solve our problems, which are caused by narrow valleys. "When you get out in the wilderness, your feelings become bigger. Your mind also becomes bigger — just like our country," says Kano.

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# CANADA IN JAPAN



Canada sends more than products to Japan. Below are three stories about its "soft" exports.

## THE NEW EMBASSY

Canada's political representatives in Japan are located in a magnificent new embassy that opened in Tokyo last year. It was designed by the Toronto architectural firm of Moriyama & Teichner Architects, whose earlier projects include the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, the Ontario Science Centre, Sydney's Science Centre, North and the Metro Toronto Library.

Moriyama and his group have produced a striking statement of Canada and its relation to Japan, while observing some political constraints, technical and local building code constraints. The building is a self-financed by means from surplus office space. As well, a local outside law firm located it could not cost more than a 10-minute drive from more than two hours a day, an neighboring park.

Moriyama mentioned these demands by producing an eight-story building that represents the architecture of Japanese, Japanese traditional flower arrangement, in

flowers, the three important elements are earth, people and heaven and these are represented by the square, circle, triangle and the circle. The building is a self-financed by means from surplus office space. As well, a local outside law firm located it could not cost more than a 10-minute drive from more than two hours a day, an neighboring park.

This floor is included by the surface Canada Garden, a stone and water abstract depiction of a vast and rugged Canada from the east coast through the Canadian shield, prairies and Rockies to the Pacific. An exhibit, made by local artist Kishimoto, Portogru, represents Arctic

Canada. Shopping areas crossing the Pacific lead to a traditional-style Japanese garden. The side of the top floor glassed floors slope in precise angles necessary to obey the shadow guidelines. These floors hold most of the office for the 50 Canadian and 100 local embassy workers, Japanese and Canadian can learn more about each other in the embassy's art gallery, library and 253 seat theatre.

The embassy is built on land originally purchased in 1932 by Canada's first ambassador to Japan, Herbert Macdonald. At that time, the property and embassy cost about \$300,000. Now, the land's estimated worth is about \$2 billion. The Japanese firm Sumitomo constructed the building, and it was financed by Japanese investors. The total floor will pay off the \$200 million cost in less than 30 years.

Canadians can be justifiably proud of the new embassy. It shows off Canadian creative and technological prowess, modernity, and its respect for and important relationship with Japan.



Above left, the new Canadian Embassy in Tokyo is a striking statement of Canada and its relationship to Japan. Above, an exhibit, a sculpture created by local artist Kishimoto Portogru and housed at the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo, a representation of Arctic Canada.

## CATHERINE ROBERTSON — TOKYO

"This wasn't here two weeks ago," says Catherine Robertson gesturing to a new building as the ladies along a bustling Tokyo side street. "A building was torn down and this new one put up in no time."

She is getting used to Tokyo's pace — especially the pace of change. The street is lined with small shops serving the mostly Japanese crowd that lines the surrounding area.

Catherine and her husband, Laurie Robertson, came to Tokyo three years ago with their

young boy, Jonathan. Laurie is an international vice-president with

advertising company J. Walter Thompson's Tokyo office. Catherine keeps up her Toronto business partnership — Robertson-Rosser Consultants runs — while running her own consulting company in Tokyo.

Robertson is clearly comfortable in Tokyo, but it took time to adjust. "At first, I was somewhat frustrated and overwhelmed," she recounts. "I thought I could settle in in three or four months, but it took twice that, mostly because of the language. Getting around and shopping was difficult because I didn't know the landmarks, and most of the roads have only Japanese signs."

New she knows "survival Japanese" and the right way to approach life in Tokyo — a home and in business. "You learn to limit your expectations on what you can do in a day," she explains. "What with traffic, the language difficulties and the way of business, you have to focus on the one or two things you can accomplish. It's not like Toronto where you can get so much done in a day. Of course, you have to be optimistic and really want to do it." Doing business in Japan is a lot of work, she says. "You have to spend a lot of time developing and keeping up relationships."

Robertson has become accustomed to Japan. Recently visitors from Canada asked her what she thought of Tokyo life. She surprised herself with her casual response: "It's not big deal."

She does miss some things about home, of course. Her support network — family, friends and her business world — is now far away. And the lack of space in Tokyo surprises her. "We were young, broke, and they had a small backyard — none in Japan — and a tiny-toe side. My son Jonathan looked at it and said, 'Look mommy, a pond!'"

Jonathan attends a nursery school with his Japanese and non-Japanese playmates. He peppers his English with Japanese phrases such as "Chotto mae de" (Just now just say) or "Wai a mairu." He is a fan of Japanese TV cartoons, such as superheroes (Iron-man, who is all the rage with the kindergarten set).

"The Japanese are incredibly polite," she says. "There is good service wherever you go. In restaurants, the service is so good I feel I should tip the waiter. But I don't because tipping isn't the custom in Japan."

Catherine had to test Japanese hospital services as well. She gave birth to her second

child, Margaret, in a Japanese hospital. "It was a wonderful experience. The doctor was good. The services were unbelievable — in their crisp white uniforms, the nurses made me feel great — it was like I was at a home," she fondly recalls.

Robertson and her family plan to stay in Tokyo for a while yet — two or three years. "We're here for the long run," she says. "We're not just going to spend our time at the English clubs and go home."

Written by James F. Tatum



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# YELTSIN'S SURPRISE

**RUSSIA'S LEADER SHOCKS AMERICA WITH HINTS THAT MISSING SOLDIERS MAY BE ALIVE IN PRISON CAMPS**

On May 7, 1992, 28-year-old U.S. Marine Corps flyer Capt. John Cosulich Jr. was shot down during a bombing mission over North Vietnam. To this day, his mother, Martha, does not know whether her son survived. "All I have is a paper that tells me that he was shot down and is missing," said the 68-year-old resident of Virginia Beach, Va. "I don't know that he's dead." And although she acknowledges that the chances of her son being found alive after two decades are "very slight," Martha Cosulich still has hope. "No longer than that, possibly. I will continue to search for information about my son," she said. "Alive or dead, I just want him back." Last week, the daily pain of families like Cosulich's began because a matter of atomic national interest within Russian President Boris Yeltsin made the astonishing revelation that some American prisoners of war captured in Vietnam could have been taken to the Soviet Union—and might still be alive.

Reaction to Yeltsin's comments, made in an interview before meetings in Washington and Ottawa with President George Bush and Prime Minister Mulroney, was decidedly mixed. Bush U.S. and Russian officials said that there was little evidence to support the Russian leader's claims. The Vietnamese government in Hanoi, which insists that all American POWs have been released, called the information "absolutely baseless." And Yeltsin's critics suggested that the outspoken president may have said the emotionally explosive matter for political gain, notably to help win congressional support for much-needed financial aid.

Even so, many of the families of American servicemen missing in action, or MIA, expressed cautious optimism that Russian cooperation with eventually end the pain of living with constant uncertainty and begging doubt for more than two decades. "We have always suspected that the Soviet Union had



Yeltsin and Bush in Washington: telling Congress "There will be no more lies"

information about POWs from the Vietnam War," said Mary Beckley, director of operations for the Washington-based National League of Prisoner Families. "But we must wait and see. Being well is believing." And although Yeltsin made no mention of Canada, relatives of some Canadian servicemen who went missing in the Korean War asked the government in Ottawa to make further inquiries.

It was unclear whether Yeltsin was fully aware of the expectations he would unleash with his statements on missing Americans. Approximately 78,750 Americans from the Second World War, 3,170 from the Korean War and another 2,236 from Southeast Asia remain unaccounted for. Three days before his arrival in Washington, Yeltsin wrote to a U.S. Senate committee stating that 12 previously acknowledged American remains from the

planes flying over Soviet territory had been shot down during the 1950s and were piled in the Soviet Union. He also claimed that hundreds of Americans were imprisoned in the country during and after the Second World War in breach of international law, and that some American prisoners from the 1950-1963 Korean War had been turned over to the Chinese. Although short on detail, Yeltsin's letter did not rule out the possibility that some of the captured men could still be alive.

Speaking to a press session of the U.S. Congress on June 17, Yeltsin promised to open the archives of the KGB secret police and the now-disbanded Communist party to help investigators determine the fate of missing Americans. "There will be no more lies," he said to the press. "I assure you that even if one American has been detained in my country, and can still be found, I will find him and get him

back to his family." Yeltsin also told reporters that past Soviet leaders knew that American POWs were imprisoned in Soviet labor camps but kept it secret. That provided an angry response from Mikhail Gorbachev. Visiting Israel, the last leader of the Soviet Union denied Yeltsin's accusations, claiming that they were an attempt to lay old rival to blame for his. Said Gorbachev, "I know nothing about such facts."

Still, the chance that Americans may have fallen through the cracks of the notoriously

attacks by KGB presidential candidate Boris Yeltsin, an outspoken critic of U.S. government efforts to uncover the truth about missing American servicemen. Added Hough: "When a head of state announces something like this, you have to take it seriously."

Bush wasted no time in attempting to show that he was doing just that. He immediately dispatched Mikhail Taro, a former ambassador to the Soviet Union, to Russia to check out the assertions. Taro is co-chairman of a joint U.S.-Russian fact-finding mission that has been searching archives for the past two months in an attempt to unearth news about American prisoners who have been missing since the Second World War.

According to Taro's Russian counterpart, Gen. Dmitri Volkogonov, the commission has found death certificates of eight U.S. citizens who were held in Soviet camps after the Second World War. But it is still trying to determine if they were U.S. soldiers or U.S. spaceflights who had fought on the German side. And Volkogonov categorically denied that the commission had found any evidence that U.S. POWs or MIA from the Korean or Vietnam Wars were still held in prison camps in the former Soviet Union. Late last week, commission members flew to the site of some of the Soviet Union's most notorious prison camps, in a former Arctic region 1,290 km northwest of Moscow, claiming a lead on one U.S. pilot captured during the Korean War, David Marlen. They found no signs of Marlen or any other American prisoners.

The renewed hunt for details on missing servicemen was a welcome development for their anxious families. Louise Van Housen of Saratoga, Mo., said that although her brother, an Air Force Major James Booth, is officially "presumed dead" after his plane went down during a night bombing mission over North Vietnam on June 23, 1968, she still hopes for conclusive proof of his fate. And unlike those Americans who doubt the Russian leader's sincerity, she said that she appreciated his remarks. Said Van Housen, "I am certainly grateful to Mr. Yeltsin for making the American people up to this and letting them know that all our men are not home."

Nancy Neysmith, whose 39-year-old husband and father of three children, died Capt. Bruce Neysmith's disappearance in the Red Delta south of Hanoi on Dec. 2, 1966, said that her personal anguish never abated. "Time does help to take some of the sting out of it, but it is like a nagging toothache—it's always there," she said from her home in Jacksonville, Fla. And although she acknowledges that after 25 years "you hesitate to hope anymore," she is now guardedly optimistic that Yeltsin may at last be able to provide some answers. "If Bruce is still alive, I want him home; if he is dead, his remains need to be returned to this country," she said. "He has a right to come home—and I need to know."

SCOTT STERILE with MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow and WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

## World Notes

### DEADLOCK IN BOSNIA

Severe shelling wrecked a truce at Srebrenica, setting back the plans to shift food to 200,000 civilians in the Bosnian capital. About 400 civilian refugees, many of whom were injured in the fighting in Srebrenica, remained ready to move in to secure Sarajevo's support and distribute food if the Serbs and separatist forces broke the ceasefire.

### NUCLEAR OUTRAGES

At a twelve-hour summit in Washington, President George Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin unexpectedly agreed to end their annual, off-the-record nuclear warheads by two-thirds. Each side now has more than 16,000 such warheads.

### DRIP SPECULATION

On the 20th anniversary of the Watergate scandal, a CIA news documentary showed James Earl Ray, a convicted assassin, in a prison cell. "I was there," said Ray, who was the source who provided key information to The Washington Post. Former Post reporter Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, who chronicled the Watergate scandal, were members of the Democratic National Committee, which maintained their silence about the identity of their source. Gray made no comment.

### MASSACRE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Hundreds of armed blacks swept through the Bopeteng settlement south of Johannesburg, looting and murdering to death at least 30 men, women and children. The African National Congress sued President F. W. de Klerk's government, of encouraging the black nationalist violence.

### LEGALIZED ABSTINENCE

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that American citizens may try criminal suspects kidnapped from a foreign country after that country's objection and without following the procedures set out in an extradition treaty. The ruling sparked outrage among numerous capitals, including Ottawa.

### WILAND VOTES

Irish voters overwhelmingly supported the Maistre-Ciampi Treaty, which defers debt relief and economic ties to a unified European Community. Danish voters narrowly rejected the treaty earlier this month.

### A SPLIT DECISION

Two weeks after dramatic parliamentary elections, Czech and Slovak leaders agreed to begin discussions for the split of Czechoslovakia into two states.

# Letter from Rostov-on-Don Russia's ripper

It is a big-shouldered city, a Russian version of post-Carl Sandburg's Chicago, and one that is proud of its industrial muscle. The toughness of Rostov-on-Don, which lies on the mighty Don River 360 km south of Moscow, is exemplified by the powerful cranes that are built at the Rostovship, a farm-equipment factory, and west the fertile lands outside the city. The region is known as one of Russia's frontiers, and it currently boasts a renaissance interest in the strong traditions of the fierce Cossack warriors, who have lived there for more than 500 years. But in a dark town on a frequent Soviet claim to have been the first, or the best, in many fields, Rostov is now known as the home town of a man who may be the world's most prolific serial killer.

For the past month, the 1.2 million residents of Rostov have endured constant media accounts of the murders, mutilations and acts of cannibalism committed by Andrei Chikatilo. The 58-year-old former schoolteacher has confessed to killing 55 victims—young women and boys—during a 15-year reign of violence that ended with his arrest in November, 1990. Said Leonid Akhmedov, 41, the presiding chief judge: "We have never had a case like this in Russia."

But Rostov received another shock last week. In Moscow, police investigators disclosed that there was another serial killer slitting southern Russia. That murderer has committed eight sex slayings in the Rostov area since January. Specialists working on the case—among them Alexander Tikhonovskiy, the psychiatrist whose uncanny accuracy character sketch of Chikatilo helped police to catch him—have concluded that such horrific crimes are on the rise in Russia.

Akhmedov's assessment is a grim public warning, but one that comes too late for Chikatilo's victims. Cossack customs prevented police from issuing autopsy disclosures when the murder began his killing spree in 1975, a time when the Soviet party line held that crime was largely a capitalist phenomenon. By 1983, Rostov authorities suspected that they were pursuing a serial killer but remained silent, even rejecting one resident's request that they publicize the murder of her seven-year-old son, Igor. Said his mother, 53-year-old Anna Yevseyeva: "Many other lives might have been saved if they had only said something."

Scarcely, when 31-year-old Alexander (Sasha) Chelap had to return home on Aug.



Chikatilo in court: a man who may be the world's most prolific serial killer

31, 1984, his mother, Ludmila, knew nothing about the presence of a serial killer in the area. "We now know that he had met Chikatilo at a bus stop in the center of the city," recalled Chelap, 41, during a court recess last week. "But there were no warnings in the newspaper, nothing on television. It wasn't until they caught Chikatilo that we found out how many had been killed." A more thorough investigation would certainly have saved at least one life: Rostov officials now acknowledge that in 1986 they executed the wrong man for crimes that were later ascribed to Chikatilo.

Since Chikatilo's trial began on May 14, Chelap has tried to attend every session, spending an hour each day traveling by bus to

the high-walled courtroom in the centrally located House of Justice. In the opening days of the trial, the courtroom's 174 ransacked wooden seats were filled with relatives of the dead, parents and cousin residents. By last week, however, attendance had dwindled to a dozen spectators at best—most of them, like Chelap, people with a personal connection to the case. "I come because I want to learn as much as I can about my son's death," said Chelap. "But I think that the people of Rostov are saddened that someone from their city did these horrible things, so they on longer come here."

Judge Akhmedov estimates that, with four-hour daily sessions from Monday to Friday, the trial—which will ascertain whether Chikatilo's

confession is true—should last through the summer. Shortly before 50 a.m. each day, seven guards dressed in the khaki uniforms of the Russian ministry of the interior sit around with black rubber truncheons and sidearms signal the opening of the session by gathering at the front of the courtroom. Even in a room that has generated widespread revulsion against the defendant, spectators are given no security check when they enter the courtroom. The guards in conduct a perfunctory search of the court-ordered steel prisoner's cage, before led for two light-blue wooden benches.

Several minutes later, four of the guards descend to a basement holding cell to pick up the prisoner. The founder of their heavy boots on the steps announces their return in a delect that the guards themselves have acknowledged "Chikatilo's escape." At the court of this close formation. At last week was a slightly built man who followed prison protocol and kept his hands tightly clasped behind his back as the guards locked him into the courtroom cage.

As he awaited Chikatilo's appearance, 38-year-old Maria Khabibova, the defendant's court-appointed counsel, acknowledged that his wife defense strategy was to convince the court that his client should be confined for life in a psychiatric hospital. Psychiatrists had pronounced the defendant fit to stand trial and, if Khabibova fails to convince the judges otherwise, Chikatilo may receive the death penalty for his crimes.

In Russia, capital punishment is traditionally administered by an executioner who fires a single bullet into the back of a hooded prisoner's head. Last week in Rostov, Chikatilo, pale, well-oiled, and with his head shaved, still fitted the haggard profile of an apparently normal citizen: a married, middle-aged, white-collar worker with a grown son and daughter and even grandchildren. But it was the hidden side of a double life that riveted attention on the staged figure in a gray suit who sat with his back to the spectators, peering furtively, grinning and slitting at the collar.

In the Russian court system, judges play active roles in the conduct of trials, and Akhmedov abandoned the trial of laying bare the accused's ghastly double life. Flanked by two assistant judges and sitting behind a brass plaque bearing the emblems of the old Soviet

Union, Akhmedov's regularly questioned witnesses who had known Chikatilo or his victims to gauge the accuracy of the defendant's confession. The chief judge's deep eyes moved restlessly through the courtroom as he read out graphically detailed excerpts from 223 massive volumes of evidence.

In case after case, there was chilling evidence of Chikatilo's cunning intelligence and the devious manner of a teacher to lure young victims to their deaths. In one incident, posing as an experienced basketball player, he persuaded that they would have a better chance of getting a ride on the far side of a nearby river. The grim result of that and other deceptions was inevitably a stomach-turning slaying.

Psychiatrist Bekhmetov charged that the murders were an agonized man—one who tried to quench the rage and frustration generated by his sexual disability by repeatedly stabbing and slaying his victims with a knife. Chikatilo himself has confessed that he sometimes attained a fleeting sense of relief only after he had gazed into the eyes of his victims or cut off their wrists, fingers or breasts. And in those bloody frenzies he sometimes even tried to eat some of his victims' flesh.

In his courtroom cage last week, Chikatilo displayed no emotion as Akhmedov read out those horrifying accounts of murder. He broke his customary silence rarely only to complain that he had been denied permission for a last goodbye, and later to argue that he had not been given enough time to study the real volumes containing the evidence against him. "And what I have seen," he added, "is nothing but a bunch of lies," he added, "my name mislabeled three times."

Responding to those complaints, Akhmedov curtly asserted that the defendant had received adequate medical care and could see the doctor during a break in the proceedings.

Thus, potentially adding Chikatilo by his surname alone, he added: "When it comes to your own interests, your speeches are well argued. But when we deal with the business of the case, people cannot understand you."

That, of course, is the heart of the matter. No one in that courtroom, including Chikatilo, could explain the steps that led to 12 years of murder. And for Ludmila Chelap, the second-oldest of her four finally cracked the self-control that has allowed her to confront her son's killer each day. On June 16, as Chikatilo left court for the day and descended to the cells below, Chelap looked up, leaned over the stonework and let him a glancing look on the head with her handkerchief. Said Chelap: "As a Cossack I have always been against any violence. But as Sasha's mother, I now think that what happened to my son and other children should be known to all. So, as the other children, I hope that Rostov are now fairly aware, even the threat of capital punishment is sometimes insufficient to stop a killer from murdering again."

MALCOLM GRAY in Rostov-on-Don

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THE UNITED STATES

# Election-year ghosts

An old scandal haunts George Bush's race

On a ghost haunted the White House last week. On the 20th anniversary of Watergate, news media dredged up one of the 1972 political scandals that disillusioned a generation of American voters and led President Richard Nixon to resign in disgrace. And as images of the burglary and coverage flickered across TV screens, another American political scandal, the 1968-1969 Iran-contra affair, re-emerged from the shadows. In Washington, a federal grand jury indicted former defense secretary Casper Weinberger on five felony counts. The publishing scandal became the highest former official of Ronald Reagan's administration to face charges related to the secret White House plan to sell arms to Iran in exchange for American hostages, and to divert the profits to the right-wing contra in Nicaragua, opponents of the leftist government there.

The indictment, returned by independent prosecutor Lawrence Walsh after a 17-month, \$5-million inquiry, seemed to be a final attempt to unravel the enigma of whether or not Reagan administration officials concealed their knowledge of the matter from congressional investigators in 1987. While his long contention that Reagan authorized the arms-for-hostages deal despite a U.S. arms embargo against Iran, and the diversion of profits to the contra despite a congressional ban on such aid. Having failed to win Weinberger's agreement to testify against Reagan, the prosecutor brought charges against the former defense secretary—and the wrath of Republicans against himself. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole called Walsh's accusation a "witch-hunt," adding heatedly: "Mr. Walsh and his highly paid assistants use Mr. Weinberger as a way to get to the ultimate target—President Reagan." Weinberger, who pleaded not guilty, called the charges "a grotesque distortion of prosecutive power."

In fact, Walsh's strategy, say some analysts, is to implicate Reagan by using recently unearthed notes that Weinberger took during White House discussions on the Iran matter. According to the indictment, citing these notes of a Jan. 7, 1986 meeting, "the President favored the plan to sell arms to contras, through Israel, in exchange for the release of American hostages." And then-Vice President George Bush, who also attended that meeting, could have reinforced Reagan's view, but he refused to do so. In fact, he was a vocal supporter of the Washington-based Iran-contra foundation. "If there is a conspiracy trial and they go after

Reagan, then Bush may get hurt because he would be seen as part of the same package." The trial will not begin before Nov. 5 at the earliest—and it does before the presidential election that political publicity could damage Bush's prospects as he faces strong challenges from undecided independent Ross Perot and Democrat William Clinton.

The grand jury charged the 74-year-old



Reagan, Weinberger in 1989; the Iran contra affair comes out of the shadows

former defense secretary with one count of obstructing congressional investigations, two counts of perjury and two counts of making false statements. It centered on all kinds of "Weinberger," new publisher of the New York City-based business magazine *Forbes*, faces a maximum penalty of 25 years in prison and \$1.5 million in fines.

The indictment of Weinberger was a reminder that the Iran-contra scandal may have been forgotten, but it has not gone away. The affair broke open in November, 1986, following the release of American hostages David Jacobson in Beirut. His captors, the pro-Islamic Islamic Jihad (Holy War), mailed a statement condemning the Reagan administration for suspected "imprisoning" leading to Jacobson's release. As details of the issue for hostages did emerge over the following months, Weinberger, in testimony and published accounts, repeatedly insisted that he had opposed the sale of Hawk missiles to Iran—and that it had proceeded without his knowledge.

Last week's 31-page indictment partly vindicated Weinberger. It says that in a December, 1986, White House meeting, he emphasized that the deal was a violation of the U.S. embargo on arms sales to Iran, and that "weaving" the missiles through Israel would not make it legal. The indictment adds that "President Reagan regarded that he could answer charges of illegality, but that he could not stomach the charge that he had passed up the chance to let the hostages go."

But at the same time, the indictment alleges that in 1987 Weinberger withheld from congressional investigators extensive personal notes reflecting high-level Reagan administration discussions about the secret U.S. arms sales to Iran and about support for Weinberger's contra rebels. According to the indictment, he gave the congressional investigators notes from only one White House meeting and he falsely stated that he had other relevant notes.

Last November, Walsh's investigators, searching in the delivery of Congress, discovered more than 3,200 pages of Weinberger's daily diary of meetings from 1983 and 1988. These notes, prosecutors contend, show the Weinberger had detailed knowledge of the arms sales to Iran.

Over the past four years, several other alleged participants in the scheme have had their day in court. In the most publicized case, Lt. Col. Oliver North, a member of Reagan's National Security Council staff who masterminded the Iran-contra plan, was convicted in 1989 of obstructing Congress, destroying government documents and accepting an illegal gratuity. But he had all convictions overturned on appeal. The Weinberger charges are a reminder that the election scandal that the White House has yet to exorcise the ghosts of scandal past.

ANDREW WEISS with WILLIAM LAWRENCE in Washington

## PEOPLE

### SITTING AROUND FOR SUCCESS

Kurt Vonnegut, the author of such best-selling novels as *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1946) and *Harrison Bergeron* (1960), attributes his creative success to a humble trait: "I am able to sit around thinking." In Alberta earlier this month for the World Television Festival and the filming of Kurt Vonnegut's *Memory House*, a cable TV mini-series based on his shorter works, Vonnegut, 60, told *Maclean's* that a short story should be "like a concert—it's created. But he added: "Anybody, given an hour to think hard, can come up with a story that millions of people would enjoy."

### Sister in arms

Like U.S. Vice-President Dan Quayle, who has come under fire for his recent criticism of the TV sitcom *Murphy Brown*, Democratic presidential hopeful William Clinton has become embroiled in a controversial war of words with an entertainer. Last month, New York City rap singer Sister Sledge, whose real name is Lisa Williams, struck a raw nerve with the Arkansas governor in an interview with *The Washington Post*. When asked what the riotous scenes were in the recent episode in Los Angeles, Sledge responded: "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?" Last week, Clinton denounced those comments as "filled with hatred." Sledge fired back on two TV talk shows, accusing him of being racist and pandering to blacks—"like a lot of white politicians." Later, the telephone-playing governor, who has become something of a pop-culture personality himself by making television appearances on *The Arsenio Hall Show* and on an MTV music video channel cable program, said he was frustrated that public figures are "paralyzing everything instead of discussing, was it right or was it wrong?"



Sledge's firing back at Clinton

### LIPSTICK AND LOVE LETTERS

A high school student Steve Sanders on Fox Television's *Actually changed his* series (Society 1988) 50233, American actor Dan Zareng plays a character who pretty much has all the great looks, girls and money. The only thing Sanders lacks is the love and attention of his family. And even though Zareng says that he has a healthy relationship with his own parents, who encouraged him to pursue his acting career that began at age 12, he adds that he has his own personality goes into Sanders. "In effect," he said, "I am putting on his into my character—the way I look disgusted, thinking, it's my life." As a teenage actor, he had a glimpse of going all-out of the lowest in the daytime drama *Love of Mary*. *The Godfather*. Now, the 28-year-old Zareng says that, like his Society 1988 50233 character, he has to deal with unbalanced women in real life. "I get letters written in lipstick. I take it all with a grain of salt," Zareng said. "That's how I feel as a teen symbol, but people perceive me that way, then I am very fat and red."

Zareng: taking stardom with a grain of salt



Mitose, amazing nationalist in Quebec

### CELEBRATING CANADA DAY

Mitose says that she doesn't like to keep her political opinions to herself. But the nine-class 21-year-old singer from Montreal has caused the local news Quebec nationalists by agreeing to appear in a Canada Day celebration in her home town. As well, after recording almost entirely in French until now, six of the nine tracks on her new album, *Healing Heart*, are in English. Despite the fuss, Mitose says that she would like to go on a national concert tour this fall. "I've never been here in Canada," said Mitose. "People don't feel threatened by me."

### Scoring behind the scenes

Composer Danny Elfman's melodies have provided the backdrop in 24 movies, including *Beetlejuice* (1988), *Dick Tracy* (1990) and this month's blockbuster, *Batman Returns*. Writing movie scores takes a lot more discipline, 20-year-old Elfman said, than his own career: writing and singing for the pop band *Oingo Boingo*. "It's as different as writing a haiku versus writing a poem," he added, "or just sitting on a hilltop writing poems."



Strikers on picket line at Port Mellon. If the strike goes on, we'll suffer

## BUSINESS

# A SILENT FOREST

The electronic sign over the employees' entrance at the Howe Sound Pulp and Paper Mill clearly blazed its message towards an empty parking lot last week. "Sleazy's production," declared the sign, "800 Tons!" That alone is a Monday morning, most of the mill's 530 hourly workers was there to stand a strike. Like 19 other pulp-and-paper mills in British Columbia, the one at Port Mellon on the north shore of Howe Sound, 55 km northwest of Vancouver, had silent as 15,000 unskilled workers struck the 14-company that owns the mill. Over a wood-estate and a kilometers from the mill entrance on the line road to Port Mellon, Albi Marston and a half-dozen fellow members of the Canada-

## UNION DEMANDS BRING ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST FORESTRY SECTORS TO A STANDSTILL IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

on Paperworkers Union (CNU) manned the picket line. They took turns stopping cars and trucks and chatting amiably with the strikers working driving them. The stream of leaflets (one escaped from the wind) piled at the side of the road. Marston, 49, a maintenance worker for just over a year who "got a brand new house and a brand new mortgage on April 1," said that he hoped members of a unionwide strike were wrong. Said Marston, who is married and has one child, "It's frustrating. You'd think in this day and age, the consumer and the unions could work something out. It seems stupid that you have to resort to this."

In fact, efforts to resolve the dispute proved not only after 10 months of negotiation. Even after an 11-month long session with a mediator, the two unions representing the mill workers (the CNU and the Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers of Canada) could not work out a contract with the Pulp and Paper Industrial Relations Bureau and its president, Eric Mintermeyer, who represented the employers. On June 9, by a 60-per-cent vote, the union's membership rejected the company's offer of a dollar-an-hour increase spread over two years (average wages before the strike were \$20.15 per hour) and a request that the mill be allowed to operate on one of four annual statutory holidays. Buoyed by recent loans, increasing environmental costs and greater competition from the United States and South America, the companies say that they need to have their terms met to remain competitive. But the strike's first week

brought on hints of conciliation. Said Mintermeyer: "Our final offer is a stretch. No actual shareholder can back at what we've done and look that at what we've done." On behalf of the union, Pulp, Paper and Woodworkers president Stan Sherrings said: "If we had given up that statutory holiday, the next time around they'd be after Christmas."

The June 15 strike coincided with the release of the annual report on the B.C. forestry industry by the accounting firm Price Waterhouse. Although the recession has not been as bad on the B.C. economy as it has on Eastern Canada, the leading industry on the West Coast has suffered. British Columbia's forest industry, representing 49.6 per cent of the province's manufactured shipments, suffered its worst year ever in 1991, with net losses of \$440 million on revenues of \$16.6 billion. Every sector of the industry, which directly and indirectly employs 872,100 people (14.6 per cent of provincial jobs), is struggling. The lumber, plywood and pulp sector lost \$250 million last year, while the newspaper produc-

tion sector lost another 1,000 jobs because of the strike shortening into July.

The industry's problems are further complicated by the need to speed huge sums to meet both ever stricter environmental standards and growing competition. According to the Price Waterhouse report, even while capital expenditures dropped by 10 per cent in 1991 from 1989 levels, to \$1.1 billion, 35 per cent of that investment was devoted to environmental controls. In the area of foreign competition, industry analyst Ross Hay-Don of Vancouver's Research Capital Corp. said, "A new factor now is that the South American pulp joint on expanding production." While a major company-expressed concern that B.C. producers may never receive any of the market share that they lose to U.S. and South American competitors during the strike.

One who echoed that alarm was contract negotiator Margaret Macdonald, who told Maclean's: "The Price Waterhouse report underlines my obvious belief in expressing the gravity of the situation across the bargaining table and having anyone pay attention. It's outrageous." The unions, however, are clearly wary of settling for a small wage increase at a time when the price for market pulp appears to be recovering. Said Terry Duffy, president of the CNU 2118, representing the Howe Sound mill: "It seems like every time we sign a contract, the market gets good again."

At week's end, B.C. Labor Minister Macdonald (MCA) Macdonald left a meeting with both sides to say that the B.C. provincial government had no intention of legislating the union back to work. But Macdonald said that he is considering a "cooling-off" period, during which work would resume, or bargaining arbitration. Said the CNU's Duffy: "If we go back to the table, the statute will have to come from the companies or the government. But not going to work means the union wins." As the impasse threatened to stretch into the summer, analyst Hay-Don forecast a pessimistic dimmed role for British Columbia's once enviable forest jobs. In the face of rising labor, production and environmental costs and growing competition, he concluded: "We are not going to be the dominant player in the future."

Back on the picket line at Port Mellon, Marston was also looking ahead. "If the strike goes on for long," he said, "we'll all suffer. It will be tough and it will take us to the bank manager." A striking change in British Columbia's rural landscape, however, Marston may have to live up to that interview-behind scenes of the industry's chief executives.

By AL QUINN at Port Mellon

## Business Notes

### TWO DOLLS OF AILIN

Statistics Canada reported that the nation's inflation rate declined by 0.4 percentage points to 3.3 per cent in May. The lower inflation, and rising oil, led the Bank of Canada to lower its benchmark rate to 5.51 per cent, bringing it below six per cent for the first time since 1973. The move caused chartered banks to lower their lending rates. Economists said that the lower interest rates and rising oil will provide some impetus for a recovery.

### MAXWELL'S SONS ARRESTED

Police in London arrested two of the disgraced publisher Robert Maxwell's sons, David and Clifford, with his sons at a friend and their. The charges against him, Maxwell, 56, and his brother Kevin, 33, relate to the sale of a company, an attempt to sell the collapsed father's business empire following his death last year.

### BILL APPEALS RULING

In an apparent policy reversal, Bill Canada announced that it will ask the federal cabinet to overturn a ruling by the Canada Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission allowing competition in the long-distance telephone market. Earlier this month, Lester (Bud) Wilson, the president of Bell's parent company, Montreal-based Bell Inc., said that the company would lobby by any means by regulatory on its long-distance telephone monopoly.

### A GREEN LIGHT FOR ONDARAJE

The board of directors of the Toronto-based brokerage firm Lawrence Ondaatje Macdonald Inc. recommended that shareholders accept chairman Christopher Ondaatje's \$125-million bid to gain control of the firm he founded in 1970.

### GRAFTON BOUNCES BACK

After six months of intense negotiations, Toronto-based clothing retailer Grafton Presser has agreed to buy back ownership from its creditors in what analysts say was the largest-ever retail restructuring in Canada. The company, which once owned 256 stores, will now operate 118 outlets of three menswear chains—Jack Fraser, George Richards and Grafton & Co.

### A MYSTERY UNFOILS

Police in Newark, N.J., arrested a couple from Washington, D.C., Arthur and Irene Seale, and charged them with kidnapping and extortion in connection with the disappearance of Bronx International president Sidney Ross from his hotel in suburban Morris Township, N.J., in April. The authorities added that Ross is still missing, but provided no further details.



ers lost \$152 million. And since 1988, when the industry last showed a profit, more than 28,000 jobs have disappeared in forestry and its service industries. The effects of the downturn have reached all levels of government: 1991 taxes from the forest industry dropped by \$400 million from 1990 to \$791. And the strike will compound the damage. The sixth month of the strike, B.C. Report will lose \$18.5 million in potential profit, he concluded, to pulp-and-paper mills. And it related chemical plants and sawmills are forced to close as well, depriving Hydro-Quebec of its market for power, the industry's losses will increase to more than \$20 million per month. Employees at service industries have already felt the strike's impact. Sawmills, which supply pulp-and-paper mills with most chips, were affected almost immediately. Canadian Forest Products Ltd. laid off 120 sawmill workers at its South Vancouver plant, 400 workers were laid off at sawmills from the coast and the



Decker: after 16 months and 100 applications, a new job but at lower pay

## Back to work—at last

### Canadians grapple with a slow recovery

One year ago, when Canada's unemployment rate stood at 15.2 per cent, Maclean's reported on the experiences of four people who had recently lost their jobs—and on the reasons why their former employers had been forced to lay them off. Finally, with the nation's unemployment rate now at 11.8 per cent, Maclean's revisited the subjects of that earlier story to find out how they are faring during their personal recoveries.

I took a driving credit course for Ellen Sopka of St. Catharines, Ont., to find a new job. And when she did, her new position was not as rewarding as her old one as a buyer and sales manager for Coy Bros. Ltd. The small, family-owned department store chain went out of business in February, 1991. Now, Sopka, 37, manages the costume department at a local Biko's outlet. She earns less than the \$23,000 she earned at Coy, and her new hours leave her less time to spend with her two young children. But she is not complaining. "I've had to make sacrifices," said Sopka, "but I know I couldn't have what I'd had before." And despite her loss without work, she says that with the help of her auto mechanic husband, Thomas, and unemployment insurance, her family has kept their house and still

has enough money to enjoy life. "It was hard at times—money comes into everything," she acknowledged. "But it probably has given off of us a better understanding of getting along together." Sopka says that this recession has left a lasting impression, unlike the previous one in 1982-1983. "After what I went through in the past year-and-a-half," declared Sopka, "nothing is going to be as bad for me anymore."

Many other Canadians have also lost their faith in prosperity when across the country slipped into recession in April, 1990. More than 1.6 million people remain without work, 200,000 more than were unemployed at the end of the last economic downturn. Of the last Canadian Maclean's interviewed last year, three have found new jobs. But two of these men less than they did before. Their experience is common among people who lost their jobs at the latest downturn. "Canadians have been disappointed," said Michael McCracken, president of the Ottawa-based economic forecasting firm Information Ltd. "A year ago, there was hope that the economy was bouncing back. But here we are, a year later, with no real progress." In fact, some signs suggest that the economy is slowly beginning to recover: last week, Statistics Canada reported that its con-

sumer leading economic indicator rose by one-tenth of a per cent in March, the third consecutive monthly increase. But for the first three months of the year, Canada's gross domestic product grew by just 0.1 per cent. McCracken says that sluggish pace means that the three-per-cent annual growth required simply to employ the number of new workers entering the labor force each year. It falls far short of what is needed to provide new work for all those who lost their jobs in the past two years. As a result, for many laid-off Canadians, the search for work has become a full-time and frustrating.

Halgren Welter Decker, 45, knows that firsthand. As Maclean's reported last year, he was laid off in March, 1990, from his job as five years as executive assistant to Robert McDonald, a personal friend and the owner of a General Motors car dealership in the Nova Scotia capital. Sixteen months later, in October, 1991, he finally found full-time work as computer for a small oil-refining company in Halifax owned by another friend. Decker, who has a bachelor's degree in business, says that he filled out "themed close to 100 job applications" before finding the part-time job at the printing shop that led to his full-time position. Said Decker: "A first timer, plus that if I figured I'd lost because of personal circumstances didn't matter. I was disappointed in some people and in the system."

While Decker was out of work, he collected unemployment insurance and his wife, Sheryl, continued with her job as a clerk in a municipal office. As a result, they and their two children never faced a serious financial crisis. Meanwhile, Decker said, he worked around the family's house and paid—said played hockey "to live off steam." But Decker now earns significantly less than his \$20,000-a-year job at the car dealership. "With the way the economy has been, a person is fortunate to have a job that can eat out," he said. "Hopefully, down the road the money will take care of itself." And like Sopka, Decker says that he worries about being unemployed again. "Once in a while, the thought does pop into your mind," said Decker. "But our business is growing in leaps and bounds."

That is something that Decker's former boss cannot say. McDonald's dealership, one of Atlantic Canada's most successful in the 1980s, continues to suffer from the outside demand's sales problems that forced him to reduce his staff to 95 people from 300 three years ago. Sales at his Halifax Chevrolet-Oldsmobile outlet fell by 22 per cent to \$7.8 million in 1990, and then dropped by another 14 per

cent to \$6.3 million, last year. And although McDonald said that he does not expect any more layoffs, he added that he is not optimistic for the immediate future. Declared McDonald: "I'd be satisfied if we can break even until the economy turns around."

Across the country, in the Vancouver suburb of Coquitlam, Marlene Oliver Ruggiero's garden was unmanageable a year ago. Neatly spaced rows of beans and lettuce were weed-free, and firmly planted wooden stakes anchored 40 bushy tomato plants. Ruggiero had time for pruning because he had lost the job he had held for 25 years when Fletcher Challenge Canada Ltd. permanently closed its nearby Delta Plywood Plant in February, 1990. For

"Hopefully, this job will last until I can collect my pension and younger guys can take over!"

The future remains uncertain for Ruggiero's original employer, Fletcher Challenge. Since 1983, the company has closed three and added two of the eight mills it owned on the B.C. coast, but put its four mills in the southern interior of the province up for sale and continues to negotiate only those mills in the province's north and east as the central Interior. The closures have trimmed Fletcher's wood-products workforce by 2,000 people, to 4,700. According to Desmond Gies, vice-president of the company's coast wood-products group, high wood costs and a shrinking supply of harvestable timber forced Fletcher to down-

scale operations to shut down the business. At the same time, his personal life began to unravel as his relationship with Lamson ended and he went to live with his mother.

Whether job Ruggiero may have of returning to his old job at the star line, which manufactures ready-to-assemble furniture at Lac-Mégantic, must be looking. According to Sopka, executive vice-president Les Quenneville, "the situation is still very difficult." Sales for 1991 tumbled by 16 per cent from the previous year, when the company lost \$3.2 million, defaulted on \$3.8 million in outstanding loans and came close to going under. Its workload remains at last year's level of 275, down from 467 at its peak. Several cost-cutting measures estimated

a year ago to shave off bankruptcy also remain firmly in place, including a 30-per-cent across-the-board reduction in management salaries and a hiring and salary freeze for other employees. "The restructuring was painful," Quenneville told Maclean's, "but it has allowed us to stabilize things. We have improved our productivity by about 25 per cent and cut our losses significantly." He added: "Hopefully, we will be in a position to take advantage of better times in the future."

Ellen Sopka's former boss, Frank Coy, is looking to the future, too. Coy, 54, lost a business that had been in his family for 141 years when Coy Bros.' two department stores closed in February, 1991. Since then, he has turned his license as a real estate agent, and now works for a fellow Biko's Club member in St. Catharines.

His wife, Gail, in Sopka's book at Biko's. Coy says that working alone as a real estate agent is a big change after managing a company with 38 employees. "The last few years at the store were very difficult for me," and Coy, "I can't say I miss the office and the store, but I do miss the staff, and I'm 39 years old, when it really was a pleasure to go to work." As house prices and interest rates come down, he says that real estate sales are slowly beginning to pick up.

That, Coy said, gives him hope that the economy has finally turned around. "I really feel that the economy is probably over," he said. "It's taken a long time—it's only in the last month or two that I've come to believe we are pulling out of it." But for Coy, as for Sopka and the many thousands of other Canadians whose lives have been upended by the recession, it will be a long time yet before the scars of unemployment are entirely healed.

BARRIE DALGLISH with JOHN DEWORT on ALAN BARRY CAMP in Montreal and HAL GUNN in Vancouver



Former store manager Sopka at her new job: "Nothing is going to be as bad for me anymore"

three months, the 46-year-old worker collected unemployment insurance, then he received \$17,000 as severance pay from his former employer. Ruggiero, who supports his wife, Selma, and two daughters, said that he feared he would not find another job that paid as well as the \$32,000 he earned at the mill. But six months after being laid off, through a friend he landed a job at a steel mill. Ruggiero left that job in March because, he said, he could not adjust to the rotating shift work. The following month, he took a job with a City of Vancouver work crew—but that lasted only three weeks. On June 1, he accepted a job offer from the nearby Fletcher Girdle Steel Mill. Said Ruggiero: "I applied at the mill over a year ago, and when they called I couldn't believe they had kept my résumé for so long." Ruggiero is more optimistic than many formerly unemployed Canadians in other respects, as well. Not only is he earning roughly what he made at his Delta job, but his new position allows him to return, without penalty, to his union pension plan, which he had paid into for 29 years at the Delta mill. Said Ruggiero:

But, even with the rejections, Gies says, he is not sure that the company's problems are over. "We believe we laid out to the [union] harvest realities and the economic news may be a little quieter than others, and have been subjected to far more of criticism for doing so," said Gies. "We think we're ahead of it, and I would like to think we have the majority of the toughest and worst behind us."

Like forestry, manufacturing also suffered serious losses during the recession. These losses cost Fred Bolek his job as manager of a furniture-maker's paint shop in Las Vegas, Nev. Bolek had held the job for 15 years before being laid off in November, 1990. The 77-year-old Quebecer could not be rehired for company turn, but his former live-in companion, Joelle Lamont, told Maclean's that Bolek has suffered a series of setbacks in the past 12 months. After his weekly \$250 unemployment insurance payments ended last fall, he told Bolek borrowed money to buy a brochure business specializing in the custom painting of enamel bathroom fixtures. But as a change reaction to the special paint used in the





# Those dragons still growl in Meech Lake

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**T**he Somers and Buchmann spouses collapsed. Murphy Brown and Pierre Trudeau left Quebec. Elizabeth Taylor found the love of her life—all this and more has happened since the Meech Lake accord dated two years ago this week.

But Canadians have yet to assimilate the fallout from that dismal record of failed negotiations. We remain mesmerized by Meech's alibi, unable to get down to the much more essential business of salvaging the Canadian experiment. Our constitutional spouses hang like a huge black cloud over the country, blocking out urgent political, fiscal and social reforms. We are still the victims of that ill-fated agreement, debating its consequences, attempting to stave off its failure with new variations on the same theme. The country is frozen as anarchy is polioed into sight only in their post-Meech machinations, behaving like ancient mythographers preoccupied with cursing angels on the head of a god.

No provincial politician was a greater beneficiary of the accord—or its more insidious victim—than Lloyd Stinson, the Ontario premier who championed Meech only to have his head dashed off by the province's voters 11 weeks after the accord collapsed. Looking back, he remains unrepentant, pinpointing the blame for Meech's demise on Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells. "Don Wells undermined that he is single-handedly responsible for plunging the country into its current mess," he said bitterly when I dropped into his law office recently. "And if he doesn't," he thought out waiting to understand, "or not believing that it's true?"

Petrusca, who now occupies a senior perch at the Toronto legal factory of Cawth, Birch & Birchwell and leads eight corporate directorships as well as advising the Canadian and French governments, is a convinced historian will record the deeds of Meech Lake as one of Canada's most dramatic waterfalls. "It will become recognized as one of these seminal events, not unlike the death of Louis

*The accord's demise 'will become recognized as one of those seminal events, not unlike the death of Louis Riel'*

Riel," he predicts, referring to the fact that the Meech side's rejection ended the Tory hegemony over Quebec, turning that province into a Liberal stronghold for most of the succeeding century. "The shattering of Meech has similarly realigned Canadian politics, realigning the country and creating such essentially new movements as the Bloc Québécois and the Reform parties. Our entire political structure has been reset and reshaped."

Petrusca points out that Canada has always approved political movements, such as Social Credit, the Progressives, United Farmers and others, but adds that these planner parties often died, were subsumed into national parties—or became subsumed parties, such as the CCF that turned into the "C" we believe in. So that national parties are essentially breakage instruments for Canadian values, tempering their policies according to our basic social contract, they can embrace a very positive attitude. Now, we have two regional parties, drawing strength from each other, with two leaders who are totally outside that tradition.

He argues that it has less largely the influence of the masculine parties which has kept Canadian politics relatively temperate, moderate, sane, reasonable and civilized. The former

printer believes that while their specific policies have often differed, the old-line parties share a commitment to values such as bipartisanship, equalization promises and a political civility that holds all Canadians should have access to health care and other social benefits. He blames the failure of Meech for upsetting the equilibrium of that system and thinks that the current impasse could eventually destroy the perfect democracy.

The former reaction to the Meech fiasco has, of course, been in Quebec. "For most Quebecers, it was a personal affront," he says. "They temporarily lost their sense of humor and the ability to ride over the little bumps of life." Petrusca is convinced that Robert Bourassa never did want Quebec to secede and knew that if he allowed the referendum to be held a year ago, the country would have split up. "You can argue with Bourassa's tactics and timing, but not with his conviction," Petrusca insists. "Now he's at the polls to champion the idea he really believes in. While I feel a lot better about the situation, I disagree with these people who are convinced we can avoid future constitutional battles—that the issue, if it's resolved in the next few months, can just be resolved forever."

Instead, he holds that federal-provincial tensions on this country's "constitutional cause," destined never to be resolved. Because nearly every democratic opposition party eventually takes power, the Parti Québécois is again one day bound to form a government, starting the process all over again. "If Quebec does decide to go, we'll have five years of the most acrimonious debate this country has ever seen," Petrusca predicts. "The Canadian dollar will go through the floor and interest rates through the roof." The West will start to think about joining the United States and the Maritimes will become a Palestine.

At the same time, Petrusca opposes a national referendum because it would leave no legal seaters and could be swung by a marginal coalition, such as an offshoot branch by Modestia Rucker or Eric Lachance. In a country where we stand, the former premier gives a forthright analogy: "We're in the last minute of a tight game. We're down five points and the quarterback has called for a Hail Mary play, throwing the ball into the end zone, hoping the receiver will catch it. We've caught it. It's a last-second, desperation play."

Talking to Petrusca, you sense his frustration at being outside the loop, at not having the platform to turn his ideas into action. He has been approached to run internally for the Liberals, and may do so, though he manages to keep his enthusiasm for Jean Charest under control.

"We got into this whole mess by lack of political logic, and we'll probably get out of it the same way," he concludes. "But it's time for Canadians to stand up and be counted. Being against the accord, creating a regional party, creating a breakaway as being against political change and opposed to the idea of the possible."

Daniel Petrusca is not happy about every turn in that package, but as he puts it, "If it's all choice between a messy package and not having a country, I'll take the package."

DANIEL PETRUSCA



## ADVENTURE

# Journey to the Pole

*Two men face a perilous trip back to land*

**F**rom the beginning, it was an arduous and risky expedition. On March 13, Canadian Robert Weber, 33, Russian Mikhail Malukhov, 38, and American Robert Maitell, 38, clamped on cross-country skis and set out from Ward Blunt Island, at the northern tip of Canada's Arctic archipelago. Their goal was to travel 1,500 km to the South Pole and back—without sled dogs and without being resupplied by air. Maitell, an experienced trekker, turned back after 40 days, saying that the trip had become unbearable slushdrift. Weber and Malukhov persevered, and by the beginning of last week, 60 days after setting out and 38 days behind schedule, were within 30 km of the Pole. But that was no far as they could go—treacherous ice conditions and stretches of open water forced them to turn back. Last week, the two men were slithering underfoot, sliding off and sliding across snowing ice floes on an increasingly perilous return trip. And in the trekking community debate the nature of their achievement, the department of national defence cautioned against any attempt to enhance national prestige for the serried adventures.

During the past several years, springtime treks to the North Pole have become as common as the high Arctic. But if Weber and Malukhov succeed in reaching Ward Blunt Island—and still get away, they could cross it by July 8—there'll be the first unsupported return try since 1989 when the American explorer Robert Peary reached the North Pole.

And it may be remembered as the most difficult polar trek ever. Time achievement drove admiration in the trekking community last week, despite the fact that they stopped short of the Pole. Said Donald Smith, a Washington-based writer for the U.S. National Geographic Society: "It's almost unbelievable that they have travelled that far at that kind of simply constant."

Many contemporary trekkers use dog sleds to transport equipment, as well as search solely in supplies several times during their expeditions. But Weber and Malukhov carried back to the Pole. The fastest Peary led an expedition that included 24 men and 15 sleds pulled by 132 dogs. By comparison, Weber, a mechanical engineer from Chelsea, Que., Malukhov, a doctor from Ryazan, a city in central Russia, and Maitell, known as "True Believer" to his fellow adventurers, started out with 400 pounds of supplies each, which they carried in backpacks and sleds. Maitell said that each man would ski for about an hour with a backpack, attached with harnesses to a pair of sleds laden with supplies. Then they would leave their supplies on the ice and go back for an occasional set of picks and shovels. Said Maitell, who was in England, N.W.T.: "I couldn't feel the motivation to continue the day-to-day drudgery. I felt like a sled dog or a packhorse."

The trip had back to back quarters of their supplies. Weber and Malukhov can carry or pull all the gear as they travel. But the gang was

Weber (left) and Malukhov about 70 km from the Pole: open water and ice floes

well drilled. Weber described what they had already found in an interview last week with *Nature's*, conducted by radio from Resolute Bay: "We got stuck on a piece of floating ice and couldn't get off for a day," he said. "We finally had to make a pump for it."

At their base in Edmonton, department of national defence search and rescue officials said that they were becoming concerned that Weber and Malukhov could be in considerable risk. Said Maj. Donald Blain, head of the rescue coordination centre: "As the ice gets more broken up, they are putting themselves in more danger." His department had already mounted a three-day search for Maitell when he was reported overdue after turning back from the expedition. A rescue plane picked him up 15 km away from Ward Blunt Island. Now, facing the prospect of another Arctic rescue, Blain said that some defence department officials argue that trekkers should be required to post bonds to cover the costs of such missions.

Weber and Malukhov, veterans of a 1988 Canadian-Soviet trek across the polar cap, were in good physical shape and had an adequate food supply. And Patrick Doyle, a veteran Arctic pilot who flew over the adventurers on June 13 and 14, said that the ice conditions were better than he expected. The largest leads, or stretches of open water, along their route were no more than a couple of hundred metres wide, he said.

But experts following the trekkers' progress said that they still face an enormous challenge, even for such skilled Arctic travellers. Said Bernard Shawcross, a biologist at Cambridge University's Scott Polar Research Institute in England: "It's very surprising if they manage to complete the trip. It's a hell of a lot more than most people here have been able to." Added Smith: "It would be stunning to me if they made it."

BY ARCTIC JENSEN





Scene from HMS Pinferry: a deliciously exuberant display of positive male energy

## THEATRE

# Mechanics of magic

Artisans bring the Stratford Festival to life

**A**n enormous Union Jack billows like a wave over a group of sailors dancing the hornpipe. A horned creature rustles in a clasp of thunder. A quartet of beautiful young women drifts by in flowing dresses, ghosts of some long-dead Elizabethan seamen. Another season has begun at the Stratford Festival in southern Ontario—another in months of theatrical visions in the pleasant, tree-shaded city 125 km west of Toronto. The current playbill includes a drinking version of the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta  *HMS Pinferry* and a comedy,  *Looking for Lewis & Clark*. Shakespeare, too, there is also excitement behind the scenes at Stratford. On June 15, officials announced that festival veterans Richard Monette, 44, will take over as artistic director in November, 1993, replacing David Wilkins, 66, who is leaving after four

years as helmsman. An actor who has played more than 40 roles at Stratford, Monette has also directed several major productions, including the current  *Looking for Lewis & Clark*. Monette will inherit the largest theatrical enterprise on the continent, a behemoth which this season costs more than \$53 million and which contributes about \$100 million to the local economy. The festival will sell an estimated 530,000 tickets for this year's 173 productions (the season, which opened on May 6, runs until June 15), although few patrons have witnessed the superhuman feat of organization that it takes to put them on. Indeed, managing the festival's more than 400 artists, directors, actors, technical experts and stagehands is such a formidable task that planning for the next season will begin before the current one is even over.

By the time that Wilkins makes his costume his late-summer announcement of the following year's plays, festival producer Colleen Blyth, 44, will already be devising how to spend next year's \$14.5-million production budget. Consulting with Wilkins, she will have directors, writers, designers and actors. Then, when the designers have produced their sketches, some time in November, she and production manager Paul Shaw, 41, will work out the costume budget (last season costumes from previous seasons can be recycled). Blyth estimates that the average Stratford costume, including material and labor, costs more than \$1,000. So Blyth. "If we're going to be doing something at the period of  *Cyrano de Bergerac*, with lots of velvet and brocade and antique shoes, the costs will be very high. So, hopefully, at the same time we'll be doing a Tennessee Williams play, where all we need to do is go downtown and buy a few slips and underpants."

Blyth works closely with Stratford's head of design, Debra Hanson. They make sure that no two productions are set in the same historical period. They even go on shopping expeditions together, buying down exotic dolls and brocades in the warehouses of New York City wholesalers. Hanson, who designed the costumes and props for  *Romeo and Juliet*, describes her work as a kind of dance between designers and the artisans who bring their visions to life. So, Hanson: "I've told them that a certain dress has to look like the sea, soft and transparent. And

Stratford, give the actor to do it. And then, they'll say, 'Well, here we strive very bravely to be the best'." Certainly, when it comes to production values—the sumptuous look of its shows—the Stratford Festival can hold its own with any theatre in the world. But good drama depends on more than velvet drapes and jewelled swords. Some critics have complained that the festival is in danger of becoming a showpiece for fancy costumes, while the quality of its acting and directing is too frequently less than first rate. Several of the spring week productions have been regarded as over-the-top. Of Stratford's last five offerings, three are seriously flawed, and only two,  *HMS Pinferry* and  *Lewis & Clark*, are exceptional.

*HMS Pinferry* is Stratford's most highly polished show—and with good reason. Director and choreographer Peter Macdonald created a splendid production in Toronto five years ago. Since then, he has tightened up the performances and imported an even more robust sense of fun to the story of mid-seventeenth-century, Ralph Richebourg is breezy-voiced Michael Biehn, who fills in for his captain's daughter, Josephine (Gloria Houston), who plays the necessary coarseness of her part with too much comic mimicry. Most of the singing and acting is excellent, but the chorus of sailors singing the show with its ferociously exuberant dancing of the hornpipe, a display that says more about positive male energy than it does about the play's own movement.

Four young actors make new set the plot going in  *Lewis & Clark* when they appear to stay for three years while having nothing to

do with women. But their vocal cords are molten—and their bodies are like steel—here we strive very bravely to be the best."

One of Stratford's finest actors, Colin Fosse, shows his usual major-league presence in  *Romeo* in  *Lewis & Clark*, and again as Mercutio in  *Macbeth*'s version of  *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakespeare's tragic tale of youthful passion. At first, Fosse fails to lend the serene Mercutio the right touch of lighthearted vulnerability. But when Mercutio is fatally wounded in a swordfight, Fosse plays the moment with such a light, arched touch that the cruelty of his impending death softly tells the theatre.

Another success is Megan Porter Folowin in  *Juliet*. Many observers wondered if the star of television's  *Anne of Green Gables* had the talent to appear at Stratford. But her performance, remembered by its grace and its vulnerability, is clear, natural and deeply convincing. Unfortunately, it finds no match in Antoni Costello's  *Romeo*. He is physically awkward to last night's Stratford role, and delivers many of  *Romeo*'s speeches with a cautious lack of passion or even belief. But, even if  *Romeo*'s partner, Juliet, can keep the production from slipping badly.

Both Shakespeare's  *The Tempest* (directed by David Wilkins) and  *World of Wonder* (based on three Robertson novels and directed by Richard Reed) contain fine performances but fail to get into anything whole. Also clearly plays the magical Prospero in  *The Tempest* he has a beautiful, rich voice, but too often sounds as if he were over-acting with it.  *World of Wonder* is wonderful, however, as his servant-spirit Ariel, leading the part as otherworldly strangeness, like electricity that has shaped itself into a body. Dylana is also impressive as Miranda. Emerson, the hero of  *World of Wonder*, who uses his childhood understanding of nature as a spur to achieving greatness. But Emerson seems less a truly dramatic vehicle than a simplified illustration of Emerson's richly poetic thoughts: it is a shuffling, groping, but finally fails to move. Making a play look good is a magic achievement. But getting it to touch the soul is the hardest and most elusive goal of all.

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JOHN BERNHOFER in Stratford

Concilio Gelfi, Porter Folowin: youthful passion





# Cold War casualties

Former spies make their peace with the past

CHINA LAKE  
By Anthony Hyde  
(Yankee/Penguin, 330 pages, \$27.95)

THE Berlin Wall has crumbled, its elected Russian leader is sharing with the President of the United States. In the seven years since a publisher's bidding war netted Orson Scott

of the Cold War still wonder the earth.

Working together history and suspense, Hyde spins China Lake into a gripping web of political deceptions, age-old deceptions and hidden crimes. At the core of the plot is a factual story of the Cold War. In 1961, the Soviet Union began developing a copy of the American Sidewinder, the world's first heat-seeking missile, developed in the 1950s by a team of scientists at the Naval Ordnance Testing Station in a drop-up California lake bed known as China Lake. U.S. intelligence suspected espionage, but no one was ever charged. Hyde introduces two fictional participants in the Sidewinder case: David Harper, a young British scientist at China Lake accused of selling the plans to Russian agents, and Jack Tamm, the testing station's chief of security, who at the time was convinced of Harper's innocence and prevented him from being charged.

The story begins in the mid-1980s. Tamm has retired to a life of solitude and Lacey Stralen in his desert home, rapidly reuniting about the good old days of cold warriors like himself. "Perhaps," Hyde writes, "he was part of a generation that had lived its time too long, and their time had never come." Harper, meanwhile, has returned to Britain and, after wallowing in drink for several years, is attempting to rebuild his shattered life. But suddenly, both men are drawn back to the events that took place at China Lake more than 20 years before.

One evening, an unexpected telephone call interrupts Tamm's lonely thoughts, beckoning him to a late-night meeting and bringing him with a single name—"David Harper." In the atmosphere of the California desert, he discovers the bullet-riddled body of an East German man in Berlin, someone tries to kill Harper and, with the stroke of his sword, a central figure in the conspiracy to discredit him at China Lake, he realizes that the events of 20 years ago are "lapping all over again."

Tamm and Harper each begin a search through the memories of the Cold War, leading them to Wales, East Germany and, finally, back to China Lake. Tracking the enigmatic figure behind a series of killings linked with the theft of the Sidewinder plans, they uncover a decades-old conspiracy involving trust and betrayal. Men war crimes and the lure of desert gold. The trail ends when Tamm and Harper confront the culprit in a shadow-darkened cave.

Instead of presenting his characters as small men whose actions have ramifications in the larger political world, a theme that John Le Carré successfully achieves, Hyde concentrates on the way history has shaped his large-scale Cold War veterans. Unfortunately, neither of the novel's main figures is particularly interesting. Tamm is a willing anarchist, a sort of aged testosterone factory with an extensive ego and a lingering bloodlust. Harper is more complex, but his journey through the mysteries of his past, and the subsequent recovery of his own sense of morality, seems to reduce the novella of the Cold War to a mere stepping stone as his help program.

Despite Hyde's effort to incorporate a dead international conflict into the lives of his characters, in the end China Lake suffers from the absence of any timely geopolitical context. Even with the Cold War over, the spy novel will likely never die. But if China Lake is any indication, it just might fade away.

JOE CHIDLEY

## Maclean's

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- 4 *Brighton Falls*, McHenry (6)
- 5 *Possessing the Secret of Joy*, Heller (15)
- 6 *Selwyn*, Custer (5)
- 7 *Shakin' Things*, (1)
- 8 *"I" Is for Innocent*, Crofton
- 9 *Dark Pass Rising*, Zeller (8)
- 10 *Jess*, Morton (2)

### NONFICTION

- 1 *The Silent Presence*, Moody (1)
- 2 *Samoa in Perils*, Gayland (3)
- 3 *The Culture of Capitalism*, Caldwell (3)
- 4 *Revolution from Within*, Strasser (2)
- 5 *Pagan's Report*, Pagan (6)
- 6 *Sovereign Modernities*, Mead (9)
- 7 *A Return to Love*, Williams
- 8 *Witch Without Her*, Carver (1)
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MASSACHUSETTS



## Avoiding Joe Clark, Clyde Wells—and work

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**M**others, as we know, never lie. There is this mother who claims that a tail once used to sprout single on the floor before an aisle and snap out where he planned to travel once he had grown out of diapers and knee pants. The tail, who had never really grown up, remembered of his petporcupine-claim. However, there remains some faint evidence of a mother's incredible accuracy, since the son would still rather travel than work.

Avoiding work, work being a torment way to get through life, takes a lot of time. The way to do it is to travel. One first must establish goals. The goal that time was to connect with a daughter, the poor thing apparently afflicted through the genes with the same disease detected by a grandmother in the tail.

The daughter, it is suspected, has the sin called wry. A son, hatching south from Groux, was not at the time, several years ago, of meeting his father exactly on the equator, but was travelling north from Cape Town on an express account, the only way father should travel.

Send daughter, apprehensive to the role her grandmother directed early as the Moodies, but some worn-up suitcase in Iceland and Rome let someone, pursued semi-successfully by a wretched lecher as a Yeage. The exercise only fattened the ribbed-flesh syndrome in the hotel.

That man, accompanied by an equally crazed friend of the same sex, was an imagination to connect the Coastman from Groux to Portugal, with lots of Blighy and Africa thrown in on occasion. How do two accountants, adding all that Austrians sent, decide suddenly to deliver to Hungary and beautiful Budapest, only to discover that the result has followed them and possibly suspects have been discovered?

How do two sweet ones, seeking an incredibly cheap airline, find that the reason it is so cheap is that they land in Iceland, in the middle of the Yugoslav storm? How do such sophisticated ones find themselves on an island where guards jab them with cattle prods if they fall asleep and therefore develop the extremely



rare skill of being able to sleep with eyes open!

How do two accountants travel, supposedly university graduates, desperate for a cheap room at 3 a.m. in a script a considerable one's offer for a nice place at 18 bucks and enter to find themselves in a brothel? In Gilda. Again, a port and a sailor's delight? Ask the grandmother, she got an A for this.

In a month of attempting to avoid Joe Clark and the Steady Cup and Clyde Wells and what passes for reality, there are more interesting things. One might be Paris, where the legends are more enduring than constitutional cautions and twice as pretty.

On the Rhine, in Lyon, one finds to a minor hotel a lunch that would shame any chef in Toronto, where the plastic waits at the side of a smile. Further down the river, in Angoulême, where the popes used to dwell, there is in the city square a museum, a year-round delight where around the corner, thank you very

much, photos are developed in one hour.

In Montreal, we are back to Christ. Small boys—and small men—bake at the bottom and as the sheep they tend with a swarming stick try to grab some assistance from the sad ground Doulayes may under heavy burdens beneath the sun—all right out of the Bible, as the situation Miracles-Bless-Graces by.

There is Cavellville, where the soul of Remy will rest, now obliterated by traffic jams. Through the Atlas Mountains in Marrakech, where Churchill loved to pass, still the home of possibly the cleanest hotel on earth. None supplied on request.

In Seattle, the daughter connects contacts. As she grows father a casual boy-daddy-where-a-been smooch, Canada jockey presents as its newest display the following Yaddy, who not happens to be from Selkirk but inland, off of Vancouver, a neighbor of the friendly school Jack Webster.

There is a detour to Larch where the Canadian ambassador is the delightful Rayne I. Andorovich, delightful because she is from downtown Saskatchewan, where all the good news come from, and delightful because she changes the accounts abroad with a fish preference, that is, from which is outside Russia near Dnepropetrovsk and Avonlea in Saskatchewan, has never seen.

There is a detour to Madrid as a first that fails will never find, to connect after 25 years with the beloved Miss Frankham, England's (and the world's) best contact 126 years ago at The Harrower Inn. Her name, people say, was really out Miss Frankham. True, I confirm. It was Marie. Her real name is Mrs. Robinson With the one caveat, we checked

planes, the five of us.

There is a detour through London high in the Pyrenees, the only country in the world that is a duty-free mall. It is fun but it is somewhere like Joe Clark and the Constitution. Basically irrelevant.

Moving right along we reach the designated destination, a lovely outpost in the south of France, surrounded by nothing but vineyards where the street is an extended birthday party. The host who was a university adversary note ago has lost the St. Louis. His wife has lost the Five Six. The age of the mother, better of one of the accounts, is unknown. There is a visitor from Toronto, who is real life in a lower class San Diego attempting on a substantial to write a novel, recalling the initial ambition of every journalist at a cocktail party to avoid doctors that, when required, the assembler plans to do brain surgery.

Mother is to blame. The rich deserves

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